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STUDIES IN INDIAN HISTORY

PART II

ELLIOT & DOWSON

THE HISTORY OF INDIA

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THE HISTORY OF INDIA

As Told By Its Own Historians

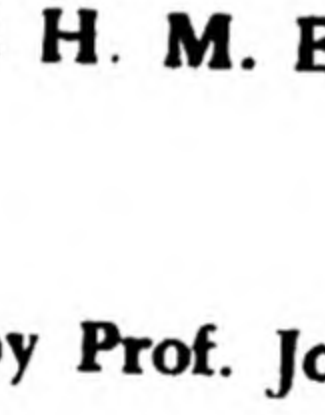
THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD

THE POSTHUMOUS PAPERS

OF THE LATE

SIR H. M. ELLIOT

Edited by Prof. John Dowson



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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

This is the Second Part of *Studies in Indian History*, comprising first twenty-one articles that appeared in the eighth volume of the original edition of this work. The Editor (Prof. John Dowson) does not give a complete list of translators. Some of the extracts were apparently translated by *munshis*. The following list gives the names of the translators as far as the Editor has been able to ascertain them: *Khulasatu-t Tawarikh*—Editor. *Tazkira-i Chaghatai*—Editor. *Jauhar-i Samsam*—Major Fuller. *Tazkira-i Anand Ram Mukhlis*—Lieut. Perkins. *Tarikh-i Ahmad Shah*—Sir Douglas Forsyth. *Biyan-i Waki'*—Lieut. Prichard. *Tarikh-i 'Alamgir Sani*—Editor. *Tarikh-i Manzilu-l Futuh*—Major Fuller.

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STUDIES IN INDIAN HISTORY: HISTORIANS OF INDIA

MUKHTASIRU-T TAWARIKH

THE author has nowhere given a distinct title to his work, though he says it is a *mukhtasir*, or abridgment, of the accounts of ancient Sultans.

Neither the name of the author nor the date of the composition is given; but as amongst the general authorities which he mentions in his Preface, the latest is the *Ikbal-nama Jahangri* of Mu'tamad Khan, we may fairly assume that the work was written early during the reign of Shah Jahan.

The author tells us that next to the knowledge of God and His Will the most important information to acquire is that derived from history; and that acquaintance with the circumstances of former kings, and their nobles and counsellors, is equal to the cup of Jamshid and the mirror of Alexander; that it also leads to reflections upon the instability of kings and kingdoms, which are always treading the road of annihilation: for when exalted autocrats, with their powerful families, their experienced ministers, their countless armies, and exhaustless treasuries, with all their pomp, splendour and dominion, are swept from off the earth, and no vestige of them remains, what doom can inferior creatures expect?

After these moral reflections, he proceeds to inform us, that though he was endowed with a very small capacity, yet as he associated much with the great, and with the chief officers of the government, and had heard many historical anecdotes during his intercourse with them, he thought it expedient to combine this information with that which he had derived from authentic histories, and compose a work calculated to yield gratification to those who should peruse it. The histories he quotes are the *Tarikh-i Mahmud Ghaznavi, Tarikh-i Sultan Shahabu-d din Ghori, Tarikh-i Sultan 'Alau-d din Khilji, Tarikh-i Sultan Muhammad Shah, Tarikh-i Sultan Ghiyasu-d din Tughlik Shah, Tarikh-i*

Sultan Firoz Shah, Tarikh-i Afaghana, Zafar-nama Timuri, Akbar-nama of Abu-l Fazal, *Tabakat-i Akbari, Ikbal-nama Jahangiri* and *Rajavali.*

He devotes his work chiefly to the Sovereigns of Dehli, but he also adds a short account of the Kings of Gujarat, Malwa, the Dakhin, Bengal, Jaunpur, Kashmir, Sind, and Multan, all which provinces, after undergoing various vicissitudes, came to be included within the Empire of Jalalu-d din Muhammad Akbar.

The copy which I have examined is unfortunately imperfect. It contains none of these minor histories, and does not carry down the Dehli history later than 962 A.H., just before the accession of Akbar; but this is of very little consequence, for the *Mukhtasiru-t Tawarikh* has been followed verbatim by the better-known *Khulasa-tut Tawarikh,* which exhibits one of the most impudent plagiarisms that even India can produce; for the *Khulasat* mentions every conceivable authority in existence, but carefully excludes this one, from which, up to a certain period, it not only derived its chief information, but its very language, even in many instances to the transcription of the poetical quotations.

CONTENTS

Preface, pp. 1 to 10—Praise of India, its fruits, animals, flowers, cities, etc., pp. 11 to 30—Indrapat, Tughlikabad, and ancient Dehli, pp. 30 to 35—Description of Shah-Jahanbad, pp. 36 to 38—History of the Hindu Kings of Ujjain, Dehli, etc., pp. 38 to 84—The Ghaznivide Dynasty, pp. 84 to 110—The Ghorians, Khiljis, Saiyids, and Afghans, pp. 111 to 238—Babar, pp. 238 to 253 —Humayun, pp. 253 to 290.

SIZE—8vo. The imperfect volume consists of 352 pages of 15 lines to each page.

The following extract is among the passages copied by the *Khulasatu-t Tawarikh,* and shows a ridiculous tendency to exaggeration. [The translation was made by a *munshi,* and was revised by Sir H. M. Elliot.]

The only copy I have seen of the *Mukhtasiru-t Tawarikh* is in one of the Rayal Libraries at Lucknow.

EXTRACT

A Description of Hindustan

India is a very large country, and it is so extensive that other countries are not equal to a hundredth part of it. Notwithstanding its extensive area, it is populated in all places. It abounds in all quarters and every district with cities, towns, villages, caravanserais, forts, citadels, mosques, temples, monasteries, cells, magnificent buildings, delightful gardens, fine trees, pleasant green fields, running streams, and impetuous rivers. On all the public roads and streets strong bridges are made over every river and rill, and embankments also are raised. Lofty minarets are made at the distance of each *kos* to indicate the road, and at every two *parasangs* inns are built of strong masonry for travellers to dwell in and take rest. At each inn can be obtained every kind of food and drink, all sorts of medicine, and all kinds of necessary instruments and utensils. On all roads shadowy and fruitful trees are planted on both sides. Wells and tanks are dug which contain fresh and sweet water in abundance. The passengers go along the roads under the shadow of the trees, amusing themselves, eating the fruits and drinking cold water, as if they were taking a walk among the beds of a garden. The merchants, tradesmen and all travellers, without any fear of thieves and robbers, take their goods and loads safe to their distant destinations. The whole of this country is very fertile, and the productions of Iran, Turan, and other climates are not equal to those of even one province of Hindustan. In this country there are also mines of diamonds, ruby, gold, silver, copper, lead, and iron. The soil is generally good, and so productive that in a year it yields two crops, and in some places more. All kinds of grain, the sustenance of human life, are brought forth in such

quantities that it is beyond the power of pen to enumerate. Of these productions the *sukhdas* rice is the best. Its qualities and flavour are beyond all praise. It is equally palatable to kings and the common people. It is incomparable in tenderness and sweetness, and has a very agreeable smell and taste. The rich and great men, and those who are fond of good living, think that no other food is so excellent. Men of refined and delicate taste find great relish in eating the fruits of Hindustan. A separate book would have to be written if a full detail were given of all the different kinds of fruits which are produced in spring and autumn, describing all their sweetness, fragrance, and flavour.

KHULASATU-T TAWARIKH

OF

SUBHAN RAI

THIS is a well-known general history of India. It was composed by Munshi Subhan Rai Khattri, an inhabitant of Pattiala. Many copies fail to give the name of the author,[1] and the *Ma-asiru-l Umara* quotes the work merely as being written by a Hindu, without giving his name, in a passage which has been wrongly translated, as being "written in Hindul language."[2]

It was written in 1107 A.H. (1695—6 A.D.), and occupied, we are told by the author, two years in its composition. This, however, may be doubted, for the work is chiefly a copy from the *Mukhtasiru-t Tawarikh*, noticed above; although there is no acknowledgement of the extent to which the author is indebted to that anoymous

[1] *This is the case with the one in the Mackenzie Collection (vol. ii. p.* 121), where it is stated that the *author "describes himself as the translator of the Singhasan Battisi, the Padmavati, and Rajavali,"—a statement not authorized by any copy I have seen.*

[2] *Oriental Quartely Magazine, vol. iv. p.* 269.

work. Notwithstanding which, he has the impudence to tell us in his Preface, that he has stolen nothing from any one, but composed the work himself—a declaration which, as he was under no necessity to make it, of itself excites suspicions of his honesty.

The author indulges in the same moral reflections, and assigns the same reasons for writing this history, as had already been given by the author of the *Mukhtasiru-t Tawarikh*, and have been quoted in that article.

The opening chapters, which are the best portion of the work, give a good account of the products of Hindustan, and its Geography, as known in the time of Aurangzeb. He confines the history of the Ghaznivides to the transactions in India alone, and in consequence absurdly reduces the number of their reigns to seven. In the reigns of the early Kings of Dehli he does not enter into much more detail; yet, notwithstanding the briefness of the narrative, he occasionally indulges in poetical quotations and needless digressions; as where he describes the seasons of spring, summer, autumn, and winter in the Ghaznivide history; and gives us an account of the various games in the reign of Kai-Kubad; of fire-works, and of a famine, in the reign of Jalalu-d din; and of wine and its effects, in the reigns of Shahabu-d din and 'Alau-d din.

His accounts of the reigns of the first four Mughal Emperors are copious, considering the nature of the work; but he has said very little of Shah Jahan, excusing himself on the ground of Waris Khan's having already written a copious history of that Emperor's reign. His account of the contests between Aurangzeb and his brothers is very full, and he closes with the period when that Emperor has succeeded in getting rid of his rivals, and has no longer a competitor for the throne. Beyond this period he enters into no particulars, though he wrote in the fortieth year of the reign.

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Gujarat, etc., but merely gives a brief account of each king's reign, when he comes to mention the final absorption of each province in the Mughal Empire. Thus, the Kings of Multan are treated of in the reign of Babar, the Kings of Malwa, Gujarat, Bengal, Kashmir, Sind, and the Dakhin in the reign of Akbar. The accounts of the Kings of Multan and Kashmir are given at greater length than the others.

The work is better known to public by the Urdu translation, called the *Araish-i Mahfil*, of Mir Sher 'Ali Jafari, with the poetical designation of Afsos, son of Saiyid 'Ali Muzaffar Khan, and one of Dr. Gilchrist's chief coadjutors in the editing and correcting of his useful Hindustani publications, such as the *Bagh-i Urdu*, a translation of the *Gulistan*, *Kuliyat-i Sauda*, and *Nasr-i Be-nazir*. The beginning of this translation was printed in Calcutta in a folio volume in 1808. Sher 'Ali Afsos represents that he has not made a literal translation, but added or rejected as he thought proper. He has made the greatest alterations in the accounts of the *subas* and *sarkars*, and the least in the accounts of forts, and none at all in the revenues of the provinces, as he has no means of bringing down the information to his own time. [He has kept, he says, many passages relating to the miracles and marvels of *Sufis* merely for conformity with the original work; and for the same reason he has retained many marvellous statements about Hindu devotees and temples, although they are contrary to reason, and he is not the man to believe them.] The beginning of this translation had already been made, when, at the instigation of Harington, he was induced to continue the work from the time of the Muhammadan Emperors. The latter portion has been printed, but is stated by M. Garcin de Tassy to exist in manuscript in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta.[3]

[3] *Histoire de la Litterature Hindoui et Hindoustani*, vol. i. p. 31.

There is little to indicate that this work was written by a Hindu, except that the date of composition is recorded, not only in the Hijra and Julus years, but in the era of the Kali-yug, Bikramajit, and Salivahana.[4]

The *Khulasatu-t Tawarikh* professes to be founded on the best authorities, no less than twenty-seven being quoted by name. of which those which are the rarest are the *History of Mahmud Subuktigin* by Maulana 'Unsuri, *History of Sultan Shahabu-d din Ghori, History of Sultan 'Alau-d din Khilji, Tarikh-i Firozshahi* by 'Izzu-d din Khalidkhani,[5] the *History of the Afghans* by Husain Khan, the *History of Akbar* by 'Ata Beg Kazwini, and the *Tarikh-i Bahadur-shahi,* containing the history of Gujarat. Whether these works were really read and examined may be questioned, for there is nothing in this history which would seem to be derived from these unusual sources of information.

Many verses, some said to be original, and some extracted from various authors, are inserted in different passages of the narrative, to which they were considered appropriate.

[Colonel Lees, in his article upon Indian Historians in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (N.S. vol. iii.), has bestowed very great praise upon the author of the *Khulasatu-t Tawarikh.* He says, "It is one of the most carefully compiled general histories of India I know of. The author commences with the Pandus, and brings his narrative down to the end of the year 1107 A.H. It was

[4] *It is written with the intolerance and virulence of a bigoted Musulman, and carefully records many stories about Musulman saints and their tombs. So it would appear to have proceeded from the pen of a Musulman rather than a Hindu. But this, though a ground for presumption as to the authorship, is by no means conclusive.*

[5] *[This work and its author, whose name has not been found elsewhere, are not given in a MS. belonging to the R. Asiatic Society to which I have referred.]*

continued for some years later by another hand; and here I may mention, as an instance of how desirable it is to print the texts of all the valuable histories of India compiled in former times we can, that the author of the well-known *Siyaru-l Muta-akhkhirin,* who wrote his history when Lord Hastings was Governor-General, has transferred almost the whole of this work to his pages verbatim, without ever once mentioning the author's name. A more glaring instance of plagiarism it would be impossible to conceive; yet the author of the *Siyar* has a great reputation, especially among European writers, and the name of the modest Subhan Rai, the real historian, is probably wholly unknown. To make matters worse, this dishonest copyist says, in the preface of his book, that he found a *few pages* of an old book, prepared by *some munshi* for one of the Muhammadan Emperors, which he made use of, but it was full of mistakes, which he corrected. This is nothing else but a barefaced falsehood; for if there are mistakes in Subhan Rai's history, he has copied them all, and made very many of his own besides. Another dishonest writer translated the same history into Hindustani, and giving it a new name, the *Araish-i Mahfil,* passed it off as an original composition. He was, however, more honest than the other, as, though he denies that his book is a translation, he acknowledges *some* obligation.''

Col. Lees and Sir H. M. Elliot are thus in direct antagonism; but if Sir Henry's judgment was correct, Subhan Rai was the great plagiarist, and he must be deprived of the praise which Col. Lees has bestowed upon him. The discovery of the *Mukhtasiru-t Tawarikh* makes it possible also that the author of the *Siyar* was veracious, when he said that he used the book of an old *munshi.* Still, his statement was disingenuous, for the *Khulasatu-t Tawarikh* could hardly have been unknown to him, and it would have been more honest to have made some direct reference to that well-known work. The censure cast by Col. Lees on the author of

the *Araish-i Mahfil* is still less deserved, for Sher 'Ali, in his title-page, states that his book was "derived from the contents of the *Khulasatu-t Tawarikh.*" Like many other authors and translators, he has magnified his own labours, but the book is not a mere translation. To say nothing of the elegance of the composition, there is a good deal of additional matter in it, and it contains accounts of things which happened long after the date of the *Khulasat,* such as the establishment of the British Government, and the building of Calcutta.][6]

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Preface, p. 1—Hindustan, its products and men, p. 12—Descriptive Geography of the *subas,* p. 28—Hindu Rajas, p. 94—The Ghaznivides. p. 172—Muhammadan Kings of Dehli, p. 196—Reign of Babar, p. 294—Reign of Humayun, p. 310—Reign of Akbar, p. 347—Reign of Jahangir, p. 441—Reign of Shah Jahan, p. 479—Reign of Aurangzeb, p. 487.

SIZE—Quarto; containing 534 pages of 19 lines each.

The *Khulasatu-t Tawarikh* is one of the commonest works in India, and is not rare in Europe. There are several copies in the British Museum. The Asiatic Society of Bengal has a very good copy, with a few leaves deficient at the end, and there are two copies in the Royal Asiatic Society's Library.

Several copies, even from such widely distant places as London, Calcutta, Dehli, Patna, and Saharanpur, all conclude with stating the date of Aurangzeb's death;

[6] ["*Quoique cet ouvrage ait pour base un livre Persan intitule Khulasatu-t Tawarikh, qui est du au munshi Subhan Rai de Patala, on peut le considerer neanmoins comme originale soit a cause de la quantite de faits qu' Afsos a puise ailleurs, soit parceque souvent loin de repeter les assertions hasardees de l'auteur Persan il en a rectifie les erreurs.*"—*Garcin de Tassy,* "*Histoire de la Litterature Hindoui et Hindoustani.*"]

which, as the work was composed in the fortieth year of his reign, must have been added by some transcriber in a very early copy; for though it is not improbable that any transcriber should add the date of the Emperor's death, yet, unless the original entry had been very early, so many copies could not have concurred in giving it in the same form and words.

[The Editor has translated the account of Dehli; but has not thought it necessary to give extracts from the historical part of the work.]

EXTRACT

The Metropolitan Province of Shah-Jahan-abad

[In Hindu and Persian histories I have read that in ancient times the city of Hastinapur was the capital of the rulers of Hindustan. This city stood upon the bank of the Ganges, and a great deal has been written about the (great) extent and size of this city in that age. It is very populous at the present time, but nothing like what it was in those old days. When dissensions broke out between the two royal races the Kauravas and Pandavas, the latter removed from Hastinapur to the city of Indarprast on the Jumna, and made it their capital. A long while afterwards, in the year 440 of Bikramajit, Raja Anang Pal Tonaur[7] built the city of Dehli near to Indarprast. Afterwards Rai Pithaura, in the year twelve hundred and something of Bikramajit, built a fort and city to which he gave his own name.

Sultan Kutbu-d din Aibak and Sultan Shamsu-d din Altamsh occupied the fort of Rai Pithaura. In the year 666 Hijra (1267-8 A.D.) Sultan Ghiyasu-d din Balban built another fortress, which he called Shahr-zaghan.[8] In the year 686 Hijra (1287 A.D.) Sultan Mu'izzu-d din Kai-Kubad built another city of handsome edifices on

[7][*Tomar.*]
[8][*The Araish-i Mahifil calls it "Marzaghan."*]

the Jumna, to which he gave the name of Kilu-gari. Amir Khusru extols this city in his *Kiranu-s Sa'adain*. Sultan Jalalu-d din Khilji founded the city Kushk-l'al (red palace), and Sultan 'Alau-d din the city of Kushk-Siri and made them their respective capitals. Sultan Ghiyasu-d din Tughlik Shah, in the year 725 Hijra (1325 A.D.), raised the city of Tughlik-abad. His son, Sultan Muhammad Fakhru-d din Jauna, founded another city, and erected in it a palace of 1000 pillars. He also built some other fine mansions of red stone (*rukham*). In the year 755 Hijra (1354 A.D.) Sultan Firoz Shah built the large city of Firoz-abad, and having cut the river Jumna, he conducted the water to his city. Three *kos* distant from the city he raised another palace, containing in it a lofty pillar, which still remains standing on a little hill, and is commonly called the *lath* of Firoz Shah. Sultan Mubarak Shah founded the city of Mubarak-abad. In the year 943 Hijra (1536 A.D.) Nasiru-d-din Muhammad Humayun Badshah, having restored and repaired the fort of Indarprast, gave it the name of Din-panah, and made it his royal residence. Sher Shah Afghan, having pulled down the city known as Kushk-Siri, built another one. Salim Shah, his son, in the year 953 Hijra (1546 A.D.) built the fort of Salim-garh, which still stands in the river Jumna, opposite the citadel of Shah-Jahan-abad. Although each of the rulers of Hindustan founded a city, and made it the seat of his government, still in all parts of the dominions Dehli is famous as the capital of all the rulers of Hindustan. In the year 1048 A.H. (1838 A.D.), and in the twelfth year of his reign, Shahabu-d din Muhammad Shah Jahan Badshah-i Ghazi Sahib-Kiran-i sani built a city near Dehli, which he named Shah-Jahan-abad. Through the building of this great city, all the cities which have been mentioned as having been built by former kings have been eclipsed, and are included under the general name of Shah-Jahan-abad, just as the many rivers which

fall into the Ganges are known only by the name of Ganges.]

HAFT GULSHAN-I MUHAMMAD-SHAHI

OF

MUHAMMAD HADI KAMWAR KHAN

MUHAMMAD HADI KAMWAR KHAN is the author of this general history, which was written in A.H. 1132 (A.D. 1719-20), in the second year of Muhammad Shah's reign, after whom he names the work, though he dedicates no portion of it to an account of that Emperor.

In a very wordy Preface, the author informs us, that, from an early period of his life, he took a delight in reading the history of kings and saints, and that, in consequence of his entering the service of the Emperor Aurangzeb, "the destroyer of all signs of superstition and idolatry," and being employed in the Dakhin, he was for a long time precluded from pursuing his favourite occupation. He subsequently appears to have been reduced to great distress, "from the occurrence of certain miserable accidents, and he conceived a disgust for all the world and everything in it, insomuch that no taste for any kind of occupation remained in his mind."

In these afflicting circumstances 'Inayatu-llah Khan, "the best of ministers," came forward to assist him, and he accompanied that officer on his return to the capital. While residing there, he seems to have been contented with his lot, for he tells us, with some exultation, that he considered the corner of a house, and an old mat to sit on, better than the lofty palaces of the lords of splendour and magnificence, and that he pursued his old studies with avidity. He preferred wandering among the pleasant leaves of a book to a walk among the parterres of a flower-garden; he altogether abandoned the fruitless attendance upon the gates of the proud and arrogant, and shook sorrow and discontent from the skirts of his heart.

While he was so happily occupied in the revival of his former pursuits, he met with a severe affliction in the loss of his dearest friend, who is spoken of in such terms that we are led to conclude his bereavement to have been that of his wife, whose name the usual Oriental delicacy respecting females prevented his revealing for the information of his readers. "The fire of grief burnt up the harvest of his hopes, destroying the stock of his patience, and nothing remained to him but sighs and tears."

From this stupor of grief he was aroused by no human aid. On this occasion an invisible angel and a divine inspiration told him not to sorrow as one without hope, but to occupy his mind by composing some work, which might serve to hand down his name to posterity. In compliance with this philosophical advice, so secretly conveyed to him, he addressed himself to his task, and the result is before us, which he trusts will render the perusal of any other history devoted to the same period unnecessary.

The *Haft Gulshan-i Muhammad-shahi* is scarcely worthy of the important preliminaries which heralded its birth. But the author did not confine himself to this general history; he wrote four years afterwards a much more important work, called the *Tazkira-i Chaghatai*, which is the subject of the next article, and he is the same Muhammad Hadi who wrote the Introduction and Conclusion of the *Autobiographical Memoirs of Jahangir*.

The present work may be considered an abridgment of Firishta. It comprises a general history of India, including all the minor dynasties; but the Kings of Dehli are not carried down later than Babar; and at the conclusion of the account of that conqueror, we are promised a completion of the history of the Timurian family in a second volume, which promise has been fulfilled in the *Tazkira-i Chaghatai*.

This history is divided into Books and Chapters, principally styled Rose-gardens (*Gulshan*) and Rose-

bushes (*Gulban*); and as it contains seven Books, it is entitled *Haft Gulshan*.

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A short extract is given as a specimen.

SIZE—8vo., comprising 495 pages of 11 lines each.

This history is not common in India. I only know two copies, of which the best is in the possession of the Raja of Tirna, in Central Doab.

EXTRACT

The Bahmani Sultans

The narrators of ancient history, after much investigation, have related with great exactness and precision that there was a person by name Hasan, who lived in a state of extreme indigence, and was a servant of one Gangu, a Brahmin, who held some rank and honour in the Court of Sultan Muhammad Tughlik, King of Dehli. This astrologer possessed a small piece of land, which the King had granted to him for his maintenance, and he employed Hasan to till it. One day, as Hasan was driving the plough, he saw a hole in the ground, and on examining it, he discovered there a jar full of gold

mohurs. He covered it with earth in the same manner as he found it, and informed Gangu of it. Gangu took Hasan to the King, and represented the matter to him. The Sultan praised Hasan for his honesty, admitted him among the commanders of a hundred,[9] and took him into his favour. Gradually his rank increased to such a degree, that he was appointed, above all the Mughal mercenaries, Governor of Kulbarga[10] and its vicinity. Gangu the astrologer, his old master, on examining his horoscope, found signs of his becoming a King, and received a promise from him that, in the days of his sovereignty, he would assume the name of Gangu as part of his royal title.

Sultan Muhammad Tughlik, being a very cruel prince, put the *amirs* of Sind, Dakhin, and Gujarat to death. But the Almighty God saved Hasan from destruction. The Sultan having invested him with the title of Zafar Khan, and conferred on him Bhakkar, which was one of the dependencies of Bhakhri, in *jagir*, went to

[9]*Briggs reads the passages where these words occur as "Amir Jadida," "the new officers," a term given to the newly-converted Mughals; and he has a note upon them in volume i. p.* 429. *But the original of that passage, and of all others where the words occur, give "Amiran-i Sada," which would imply that they were "Commanders of a hundred men." [See Or. Ed. Vol. III. p.* 252, *note] Nuru-l Hakk styles Hasan a Turk Sipahi, so that he must have been enrolled among the foreign mercenaries. Firishta calls him an Afghan.*

[10]*This city received the name of Hasanabad. Col. Briggs says that this name, which was given to Kulbarga by Hasan, is most inconsistently written in all the MSS. of Firishta as Ahsanabad; but it is not so in the lithographed copy, nor do the verses, which record its foundation, admit of any other reading than Hasanabad. [Iradat Khan calls it Ahsanabad.—See Scott's Dakhin, vol. ii. p.* 2, *and Or. Ed. Vol. VII. p.* 534]

Gujrat, and thence turned his course towards Thatta, where the army of death attacked him, and sent him to the world of nonentity.

TAZKIRA-I CHAGHA'TAI

OF

MUHAMMAD HADI KAMWAR KHAN

[THIS work is sometimes called *Tarikh-i Chaghatai*, but it must not be confounded with the history bearing that title by Muhammad Shaff Warid. The author of the *Tazkira* was Muhammad Hadi Kamwar Khan, who has been already noticed as the author of the *Tatimma-i Waki'at-i Jhangiri*[1] and the *Haft Gulshan*. The *Tazkira-i Chaghatai* is a general history of the Chaghatai sovereigns in two parts. The first commences with an account of the origin of the Mongols, and of Changiz Khan, and goes down to the death of Jahangir. The second part, which is the more important and useful, begins with the death of Jahangir, and ends with the seventh year of Muhammad Shah, A.H. 1137 (1724 A.D.).

In writing about this author, Colonel Lees says, "I do not know the exact limits of the period within which this author flourished; but it is evident that he was contemporary with Aurangzeb for a considerable portion of his reign, and, for some portion of the time, at least, had good opportunities of obtaining accurate information. I find that in the forty-fifth year of his reign, he went, in company with the Paymaster General Kifayat Khan bin Arshad Khan. Khafi, to Ahmadabad; and as he has brought down his history only to the sixth year of Muhammad Shah's reign, or A.H. 1136,[2] and Khafi

[1] *Vol. VI. p.* 392. (*Original Ed.*)

[2] ["*So far the Bengal Asiatic Society's copy. Morley says the Royal Asiatic Society's copy is continued for another year.*"]

Khan has continued his to the fourteenth year of the same region, or 1144 A.H., we may conclude that Kamwar Khan was not the later of the two. He opens his history modestly stating that he commenced it after he had completed the compilation of the *Haft Gulshan*. He continues, 'I humbly crave the students of history, regardless of the impropriety of the words I have used, or the want of elegance in my style, to take into their consideration, and do me the justice to remember, that without any royal order, and without the aid or assistance of any of the nobles of the times, which in an undertaking of this important nature is very necessary, how many nights I have turned into days and *vice versa*, and what anxiety of mind I have suffered, in communicating the information contained in this history in a new form.' The author was appointed Controller of the Household of Prince Muhammad Ibrahim, and received an increase of pay and the title of Kamwar Khan, in the second year of the reign of Bahadur Shah Shah 'Alam, and he received a *khil'at* from the Emperor in the following year. He was in a position then to know what was going on; and the apparently straightforward manner in which he has written his history inspires the confidence of the reader."

From incidental observations in the pages of the book, it appears that the author was *diwan, bakhshi* and *khansaman,* in the time of Bahadur Shah, and that he afterwards held the office of *darogha* of the treasury of the *ahadis*. In the later years of the work it is little more than a record of appointments and promotions, with the concomitant presents and offerings.[3]]

EXTRACTS

Accession of Shah Jahan

[Yaminu-d daula Asaf Khan, 'Azam Khan and other

[3][*See Morley's Catalouge, and Col. Lees' Article, Journ. R. A. S. (New Series), vol. iii. p.* 456.]

nobles defeated the army of Shahriyar in the vicinity of Lahore. They entered the city, made Shahriyar prisoner, and blinded him. Bulaki and the other sons of Daniyal and Khusru were put in chains, and imprisoned in the fort of Lahore.]

Death of Bahadur Shah

[Bahadur Shah died on the night of the 20th Muharram, 1024 A.H. (9th February, 1615). Great confusion immediately followed in the royal camp, and loud cries were heard on every side. The *amirs* and officials left the royal tents in the darkness of the night, and went off to join the young princes. Many persons of no party, and followers of the camp, unmindful of what fate had in store for them, were greatly alarmed, and went off to the city with their families. Ruffians and vagabonds began to lay their hands upon the goods of many. The streets were so crowded that it was difficult to pass along them, and houses could not be found to accommodate the people. Several persons were to be seen unable to answer the calls made upon them. Great disturbances arose in the armies of the Princes, and none of the great men had any hope of saving their lives. The soldiers loudly demanded their pay and allowances, and joining the unceremonious servants, they made use of foul and abusive language, and laid their hands on everything they found. Fathers could do nothing to help their sons, nor sons for their fathers. Every man had enough to do in taking care of himself, and the scene was like the day of judgment. Informers brought in news that Prince Muhammad Karim, son of Prince 'Azimu-sh Shan, had left his own camp and gone off towards that of Mahabat Khan and Khan-zaman, sons of the late Khan-khanan, and no one knew what his intentions were. Every one, small and great, looked upon 'Azimu-sh Shan as the successor; for he had soldiers, artillery, elephants, treasure, and implements of war two-fold more than all his three brothers.

Except *Amiru-l umara* Bakhshiu-l Mulk (Zu-l fikar Khan), all the royal nobles were in his favour. It was probable that he would draw up his forces at once, and not give his adversaries time to assemble theirs.]

TARIKH-I CHAGHATAI

OF

MUHAMMAD SHAFI', TEHARANI

[THIS work is also found bearing the names *Mir-atu-l Waridat* and *Tarikh-i Muhammad-Shahi.* The author was Muhammad Shafi'-i Teharani, whose poetical sobriquet was Warid. He tells his readers that he was born in Hindustan, but that his father, Muhammad Sharif, and his ancestors, were natives of Teharan. Up to the age of forty-one he had done nothing to hand his name down to posterity, and while he was regretting his wasted life, and considering what work he should undertake, he was visited by his friend, Mirza 'Inayatu-llah 'Atufat Khan, at whose instance he composed this history. He goes on to say, "From the year 1100 A.H., the greater portion of what I have recorded I have myself seen, and that which I heard from trustworthly persons I took the utmost pains in sifting and inquiring into, and whatever statements I had the slightest doubt about I discarded. But from the commencement of the war of the late Sultan Muhammad A'zam up to the present time, or for twenty-two years, I have seen everything with my own eyes." The work is written in an elegant, but somewhat difficult style. It begins with the history of Babar, and includes part of the reign of Muhammad Shah down to the withdrawal of Nadir Shah in 1739. He closes his work with the following statement:

"After the departure of Nadir Shah, a Royal Order was issued to the following effect: 'All public officers should occupy themselves in the discharge of their ordinary duties, except the historians. These should refrain from recording the events of my reign, for at

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present the record cannot be a pleasant one. The reins of Imperial or Supreme Government have fallen from my hands. I am now the viceroy of Nadir-Shah.' Notwithstanding that the nobles and great officers of the Court, hearing these melancholy reflections of the Emperor, in many complimentary and flattering speeches recommended him to withdraw this order, His Majesty would not be satisfied. Consequently, being helpless, all the historians obeyed the royal mandate, and laid down their pens."

The work is not a very long one. The copy used by Colonel Lees was a royal octavo of 668 pages, 15 lines to the page. There is a copy and several extracts of the work in the library of Sir H. M. Elliot.[4]]

EXTRACT

(Nadir Shah), calling Burhanu-l Mulk before him, sent him to the presence of Muhammad Shah, having determined upon this treaty, that the Emperor of Hindustan should come to have an interview with him, and that he should not be sparing of his money and goods. He on his part would hold fast to the treaty, and the sovereignty and the whole kingdom, as formerly, should remain in the possession of his brother monarch.

Burhanu-l Mulk was admitted to the presence for the purpose of delivering this message. Next morning Nizamu-l Mulk went before the Shah to arrange matters, and the Shah came as far as the door of the tent to meet him.

The following day Muhammad Shah proceeded

[4][*This article has been chiefly derived from* Col. *Lees' article in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (N.S. *vol. iii.*), *and his translations of the two Extracts above quoted have been adopted; but the passages had been picked out by Sir H. M. Elliot, and were translated for him by a munshi.*]

there, riding in a light litter. As he entered the tent, Nadir Shah came respectfully forward, and they, taking one another's hands, sat down together upon the same *masnad*. The coffee-bearer first presented coffee to Nadir Shah, and he with his own hands courteously presented it to Muhammad Shah, and said, "Since you have done me the honour to come here, you are my brother, and may you remain happy in the empire of Hindustan."

After two hours, Muhammad Shah returned to his own camp, and diffused comfort among the dejected chiefs of Hindustan. It had been determined that both Kings should march together towards Shah-Jahanabad. So on Friday, the 8th of Zi-l hijja, in the year 1151 A.H. (8th March, 1739), the two Emperors reached Dehli. Nawab Burhanu-l Mulk was present there at the time but on the following morning he died. On the night of the third day from that Friday, this extraordinary circumstance occurred, that some people of Hindustan raised a report that Muhammad Shah had made away with Nadir Shah. When this rumour spread through the city, every man cut down with his sword each vanquished one without compassion. The Persians, hearing of the murder of their master, lost all self-control, and three thousand or more of them were put to death.

About midnight, the officers of Nadir Shah, frightened and trembling, represented the state of affairs to the Shah. The Shah, angry at being aroused, said, "The men of my army are maliciously accusing the people of Hindustan, so that I should kill a number of them, and give the signal for plunder." But when this information was repeated over and over again to the Shah, he seized his sword, and in the Mosque of Rasadu-d daula (which is situated near the court of the superintendent of the police), he himself made that sword a standard, and issued the order for slaughter.

From that night till five hours of the following day,

man, woman, animal, and every living thing which came under the eyes of the Persians, was put to the sword, and from every house ran a stream[5] of blood. At last Muhammad Shah mounted, and went to the Shah to make intercession for God's people. Nadir Shah, out of consideration for him, willingly acceded to his wishes, gave orders that the Persians should immediately cease from further slaughter, and desist from this unseemly work. In short, a proclamation of quarter was made, and the cry of this glad tidings resounded on all sides.

After this, Nadir Shah remained for some days, and collecting a great deal of treasure and wealth, he set out towards the capital of Iran. On the way to Latti, the ruler of Sind, who had come out with hostile designs, was defeated by Nadir Shah with very little trouble, and obliged to submit. On the day Nadir Shah set out for the capital of Iran, a notice was sent to Fulad Khan, the superintendent of the police of Hindustan, intimating that not one of the Persians remained in Hindustan.

[5]*Lit.* "*A Tigris.*"

BURHANU-L FUTUH

OF

MUHAMMAD 'ALI

THIS rare work, immediately after the usual praises of the Creator and the Prophet, commences with an eulogium on History. It informs us that stories of ancient heroes operate as a warning to posterity, and those relating to the manners and customs of great men and powerful monarchs form a rule for the existing sovereigns of the world. For proud men and warriors, History is the surest means of knowing what acts every one has performed according to his power and understanding; what balls were struck by what bats, and how the games were won; how the swords of revenge were drawn against enemies, and how they were destroyed; how some by their arts, machinations and prudence, saved themselves from the hands of their adversaries, and how others, by the force of their arms and courage, conquered the countries of the world; what heroism warriors have displayed, and how with their swords, battle-axes, arrows, lances and daggers, they have cut off or broken the heads of foes, and darkened, as with night, the fields of battle with the dust of their feet. From History also may be known what learned man flourished at what time; when a certain poet composed his poems; at what time a certain prose work was compiled; what miracle was performed by such a saint at such a time; what physician flourished at such a period; what caligrapher acquired fame in his profession, and at what time.

"As the advantages," he continues, "of this branch of learning are clearly obvious, and the motives to study it have been fully shown, this mean and sinful person, this criminal, shameful, forlorn, and abashed, embarrassed and distressed; this drowned in the ocean of fault and sin; this bad character and blackfaced one; this hoper of forgiveness from God, the Protector of

great and small, viz. Muhammad 'Ali, son of Muhammad Sadik-al Hasni-al Naishapuri-al Hanafi, compiled this history, which is extracted from many other similar works, in an exceedingly condensed form, and the extent of his power took great care in adjusting the dates. Thus the periods of the births and deaths of the different kings, and the actions of different governors, may be found in the course of these narratives. He has produced a polished mirror, in which are reflected all the prophets, ministers, *saiyids*, and physicians. Having for many years dived into the depths of books, he brought out these pearls from those oceans."

The works which he quotes as his authorities are the *Rauzatu-s Safa, Habibu-s Siyur,* Firishta, *Rauzatu-l Ahbab, 'Alam-ara, Jahan-kusha, Tazkiratu-l Fukaha, Tazkiratu Shu'ara, Zafarnama, Tabakat-i Akbari, Futuh-i 'Asam Kufi, Guzidah* of Hamdu-llah Mustaufi, *Mas'udi, Afzalu-t Tawarikh, Jahan-ara, Nizamiya, Wassaf, Mu'ajjam, Majalisu-l Muminin, Lubbu-t Tawarikh,* and *'Alamgiri.*

The author dedicates his work to Nawab Burhanu-l Mulk Saiyid Sa'adat Khan, upon whom he bestows a long and laboured eulogy. In other parts of the work he takes every opportunity of lauding his patron, and at page 329 says that he alone is capable of competing with the Mahrattas, at the dread of whom all the other nobles of the Empire had at that time lost heart, and become alarmed. It is in compliment to his patron's title of Burhanu-l Mulk that his work takes its name of *Burhanu-l Futuh*—"the demonstration of victories."

The work was composed in A.H. 1148 (A.D. 1735-6),—and, several years afterwards, we find the author dedicating it to another patron, and giving to it the better-known name of *Mir-atu-s Safa,* in which he most amusingly changes, omits, or adds sectarian passages to render his book acceptable to a *Sunni,* instead of a *Shi'a.*

The *Burhanu-l Futuh* has certainly great merit in its close attention to dates, which make it a very useful book

of reference, though in other respects it is too short to be of any particular value. The matter is a little expanded towards the close of the Dehli history, which is brought down to the very year in which it was written. It is divided into an Introduction, eighteen Books, and a Conclusion. The Books are divided into several Chapters, and they again are subdivided into Sections. The following Table will show the miscellaneous nature of their contents.

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SIZE—Small folio, containing 426 pages, with 18 lines to a page.

The *Burhanu-l Futuh* is quite unknown. I am fortunate enough to possess the autograph of the author, written in the year of composition, and no doubt the identical one presented to Nawab Sa'adat Khan, and stolen from the Royal Library. I procured it in a *bazar* at Lucknow.

[The Extracts were translated by a *munshi,* and corrected by Sir H. M. Elliot. They differ in some respects from a new copy of the *Mir-atu-s Safa* belonging to Sir Henry.]

EXTRACTS

In this year (1121 A.H., 1709 A.D.), in consequence of the rebellion and disturbances which were raised by Tara Bai, wife of Sambha, son of Siva, Mir Ahmad Khan, Governor of Burhanpur, was killed in the month of Safar, and great tumult arose in that city, equal to what may be expected in the day of resurrection. In the city, besides Saiyid Zainu-d din Khan *Kotwal,* who was left for its protection, there was also the father of the compiler of these leaves, who was appointed master of the royal ordnance. Mir Ahmad Khan had sent them with orders to defend the ramparts of the city wall, and fortify the bastions. They used all their efforts to save the city and repel the enemy. The insurgents laid siege to the fort for eighteen days, and made great endeavours to take the

city. They succeeded in burning many villages, and most of the *mansabdars* who had accompanied Mir Ahmad Khan were taken prisoners by the enemy, who extorted something or other from all of them. From Fidwiyat Khan Bakhshi 25,000 rupees were taken, and in the same manner some gave one thousand, and others less. Sharafu-d din Khan, accountant of the household expenses, being well versed in the art of music, declared that he was a singer of Mir Ahmad Khan, and thus easily obtained his release. The other nobles said that they were barbers, and, after shaving, obtained their freedom from the place of destruction without paying any money. With Mir Ahmad Khan, nineteen relatives of his were slain. Zafar Khan, who was one of the respectable inhabitants of the city, and had no one equal to him in bravery, though severely wounded, escaped into the city with the greatest difficulty. Sharza Khan Dakhini, surnamed Saiyid Rustam Khan, one of the chief nobles who resided at Balapur, in Birar, came with the utmost speed to relieve Burhanpur, and as he had a large force, the enemy raised the siege and took to flight. His Majesty granted the governorship of Burhanpur to Saiyid Rustam Khan.

Various events which have occurred during the Hijra era

A.H. 14.—Discovery of the composition of gunpowder.

A.H. 64.—'Abdu-llah, son of Zahir, built the temple of Mecca.

A.H. 75.—Money first coined by the Muhammadans. The *dinar* was a coin of Rum, and the *dirham* of Persia.

A.H. 180.—Fall of the tower in Alexandria in an earthquake.

A.H. 237.—A great fiery meteor appeared in 'Askalan, which was for a long time suspended between heaven and earth.

A.H. 242.—A dreadful earthquake occurred and inflicted great damage throughout the world.

A.H. 244.—A terrible noise was heard in Akhlat about the time of midnight, and numerous men were alarmed to death. In 'Irak hailstones fell which were one yard in diameter.

A.H. 252.—A great famine raged in Baghdad, and the inhabitants of the city, to the number of about one-fourth, were starved to death.

A.H. 269.—Tulun built a large tower over the tomb of Mu'avla, and it is one of the curiosities of the world.

A.H. 278.—Rise of the Karmathians in Kufa.

A.H. 279.—Books on Natural Philosophy were written, and the practice of selling and buying books was first introduced.

A.H. 284.—In Egypt such darkness prevailed, that lamps were kept lighted for three days, and in Basra red and yellow storms blew.

A.H. 286.—In Bahrain Abu Sa'id Habani became chief of the Karmathians.

A.H. 288.—In the West Abu 'Abdu-llah introduced the doctrines of the *Shi'as*.

A.H. 328.—Stars fell from the sky, which appeared like birds of fire, and which greatly terrified the people.

A.H. 330.—The Euphrates overflowed with such violence, that half of the city of Baghdad was inundated.

A.H. 337.—The Euphrates again overflowed, and three-fourths of the city was covered with water.

A.H. 346.—The reflux of the Persian Gulf took place to such a degree, that new islands appeared. Re and Talikan were destroyed by the violence of an earthquake.

A.H. 349.—A great quarrel broke out between the *Shi'a* and *Sunni* sects, and the latter prevailed on account of the abundance of the descendants of Hashim and the assistance of Mu'izzu-d daula.

A.H. 351.—The *Shi'as* predominated, and reproachful sentences against the first Khalifs were engraved on doors and mosques in Baghdad.

A.H 352.—By the orders of Mu'izzu-d daula Dailami,

mournings for the death of Imam Husain (peace be on him!) were openly observed.

A.H. 358.—The words "Rise for a virtuous purpose" were introduced in the *azan* by orders of the descendants of Fatima.

A.H. 363.—The *khutba* of the descendants of 'Abbas was abolished in Mecca, by order of Mu'izzu-d din Allah 'Alawi, and the words above mentioned were then also introduced into the *azan*.

A.H. 368.—'Azdu-d daula sent money to construct the fort of Medina.

A.H. 382.—A Shaikh came into the Court of the Khalifa of Baghdad from Yajuj and Majuj.

A.H. 389.—Flags were first carried in commemoration of the death of Imam Husain (peace be on him!), and the *Marsias* or elegies, in commemoration of the event, were first read with loud cries and lamentations.

A.H. 398.—The *Sunnis* obtained superiority over the *Shi'as*, and a great earthquake occurred in Dayuz.

A.H. 400.—The *Jama' Masjid* was built in Egypt in the time of Hakim-i Billah 'Alawi Isma'ili.

A.H. 407.—The *Shi'as* of Wasit were put to flight by the *Sunnis*, and the temple *Baitu-l Mukaddas* was demolished.

A.H. 413.—Occurrence of intense cold in the country of 'Irak, which froze the water of the watercourses and wells.

A.H. 428.—A great famine raged in all the countries of the world, and about one-tenth of the people were starved to death.

A.H. 432.—A dreadful earthquake occurred in Tabriz.

A.H. 434.—Another earthquake occurred which destroyed Tabriz.

A.H. 440.—The wall round the city of Shiraz was completed by Abu-l Mukarim, a Dailami chief.

A.H. 442.—A comet appeared.

A.H. 443.—A fight took place between the *Sunnis*

and the *Shi'as* in Baghdad, and the former were victorious.

A.H. 444.—The quarter of Baghdad in which the *Shi'as* resided was destroyed.

A.H. 450.—The *Shi'as* obtained power over the *Sunnis* in Baghdad by the assistance of Basasari (may peace be to him!).

A.H. 451.—The *Sunnis* overcame the Shi'as and Basasari was slain.

A.H. 452.—A great famine occurred in Egypt, and the people were reduced to a deplorable condition.

A.H. 454.—The Tigris overflowed, and Baghdad was inundated.

A.H. 456.—A great conflagration took place in Damascus, and the sepulchre of Bani 'Ummaiya was burnt.

A.H. 462.—Famine raged in the country, and a pestilential disease broke out in Egypt; the *khutba* of Fatima was abolished in the country of Hijjaz.

A.H. 466.—The Tigris was again swollen, and Baghdad inundated.

A.H. 503.—The Firingis took the fort of Tripoli after a siege of seven years, and they also obtained possession of the forts of Banias, Tarsul, and Akrad.

A.H. 504—The Firingis took the forts of Beyrout, Ayasif. and the stronghold of Saidu.

A.H. 505.—The foundation of the fort of Mashhed Mukaddas was laid by the exertions of Amir 'Ali.

A.H. 514.—Tombs of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were discovered in the well-known ravine.

A.H. 515.—Baghdad was burnt, and some of the pillars of Yamani fell down.

A.H. 517.[1]—A total eclipse of the sun took place, so that the stars appeared during the day.

A.H. 516.[1]—The *Shi'a* creed was promulgated in the country of Azarbaijan.

[1](*Sic in orig.*)

A.H. 518.—Saifu-l Islam issued, after many years, a prohibition to the learned men in Mecca and Medina, that the words "Rise for a virtuous purpose" should not be cried on in the *azan*.

A.H. 600.—White dust fell from the sky.

A.H. 654.—A red flame was seen in the vicnity of Medina, and Baghdad was inundated by the river.

A.H. 669.—Damascus was inundated by the overflowing of the streams.

A.H. 682.—A large flood came and inundated Damascus a second time.

A.H. 692.—The flame again appeared in the vicinity of Medina.

A.H. 694.—The water of the Nile fell, and a great famine occurred in Egypt.

A.H. 695. —A terrible famine raged in the cities of Egypt and Syria, and men ate dogs, cats, and even their own children.

A.H. 700.—The Ilkhani almanacs were invented.

A.H. 701.—A pestilential disease broke out among men and all classes of animals.

A.H. 718.—The astrologers were probibited from prououncing their predictions in Damascus, and a great famine took place in the continent and the islands.

A.H. 728.—The court-yeard of the temple of Mecca was newly laid down.

A.H. 731.—The canal was brought into the city of Aleppo.

A.H. 739.—A great earthquake occurred in Western Tripoli.

A.H. 740.—Fire descended from the heavens on the coasts of Syria and burnt many houses.

A.H. 746.—The palace of Kisra was demolished on the 4th of Safar.

A.H. 749.—A dreadful plague ravaged the cities of Egypt and Syria.

A.H. 802.—Fire caught the temple of Mecca and injured it.

A.H. 819.—A great pestilence broke out in most of the cities of the world.

A.H. 836.—A comet appeared.

A.H. 842.—The foundation of *Jama' Masjid* was laid in Adarna.

A.H. 844.—The *Jama' Masjid* was completed.

A.H. 862.—Discovery of the New World by Columbus.

A.H. 877.—A total eclipse of the sun took place on the 27th of Rabi'u-l awwal, and the stars appeared during the darkness.

A.H. 883.—A great plague occurred in Mecca.

A.H 884.—Damascus was burnt.

A.H. 901-904.—The rivers were greatly swollen, and pestilential diseases broke out in all the cities of Rum.

A.H. 903.—A *Jama' Masjid* was founded in Constantinople.

A.H. 912.—The Portuguese took possession of some of the coasts of India.

A.H. 1012.—The medicinal properties of tobacco were discovered, and it was used in smoking, as it is now.

A.H. 1030.—The water of the Bay of Constantinople was forzen by excess of cold.

A.H. 1099.—A pestilential disorder broke out in Burhanpur and the Dakhin, which continued till A.H. 1104, and destroyed half the people.

A.H. 1116-1119.—A great famine occurred in Burhanpur and the Dakhin, and many men died of hunger.

A.H. 1140.—The rain fell very copiously in Burhanpur, and the river Tapti rose so high that it inundated one-tenth of the city, and destroyed one-fourth of the houses.

A.H. 1148.—Towards the end of the year such a violent earthquake occurred in Kashmir, that it destroyed about two thousand houses.

KANZU-L MAHFUZ

"THE GUARDED TREASURY" is so peculiar a name, that it probably represents the date when the work was first

commenced, 1142 A.H. The narrative, however, is brought down to the year 1150 A.H., or eight years subsequent.

The second volume only of this work has come into my possession, and in that nothing is stated with respect to the name and position of the author. The first volume seems to have been devoted to miscellaneous subjects. We are told incidentally, in a passage at the beginning of the second volume, that, amongst other things, it contained a Treatise on Knowledge. There could have been nothing on history, for that subject is exhausted in the second volume. The names of authorities are not given in any general from, but the *Tabakat-i Nasiri* and *Tabakat-i Akbari* are quoted. The only portion that can be considered original is the first portion on the duties and observances of kings and ministers, which is profusely illustrated by quotations from the Kuran.

This work is very rare. I have seen but one copy, which is in the possession of Sa'idu-d din Ahmad Khan, of Muradabad. As before mentioned, it is deficient in the first volume. It was transcribed in 1188 A.H., in the *Nast'alik* character.

CONTENTS

On the Duties and Observances of Kings and Ministers, pp. 1 to 50—The 'Ummayide and 'Abbaside Khalifs, pp. 57 to 62—Ghaznivides, pp. 63 to 78—Kings of Dehli before Babar, pp. 73 to 141—Timurian Dynasty, down to Muhammad Shah, pp. 141 to 283—Kings of the Dakhin, pp. 283 to 300—Sultans of Gujarat, pp. 301 to 315—Sultans of Malwa, pp. 316 to 330—Sultans of Bengal, pp. 331 to 335—Sultans of Jaunpur, pp. 336 to 339—Rulers of Sind, pp. 339 to 342—Rulers of Multan, pp. 343 to 346—Sultans of Kashmir, pp. 346 to 357—Brief Description of Hindustan, pp. 357 to 358.

SIZE—Large 8vo., 358 pages, each comprising 22 lines.

EXTRACT

In the city of Agra there was a large temple, in which there were numerous idols, all adorned and embellished

with precious jewels and valuable pearls. It was the custom for the infidels to resort to this temple from far and near several times in each year to worship the idols, and a certain fee to the Government was fixed upon each man, for which he obtained admittance. As there was a large congress of pilgrims, a very considerable amount was realized from them, and paid into the royal treasury. This practice had been observed to the end of the reign of the Emperor Shah Jahan, and in the commencement of Aurangzeb's government; but when the latter was informed of it, he was exceedingly angry, and abolished the custom. The greatest nobles of his Court represented to him that a large sum was realized and paid into the public treasury, and that if it were abolished, a great reduction in the income of the State would take place. The Emperor observed, "What you say is right, but I have considered well on the subject, and have reflected on it deeply; but if you wish to augment the revenue, there is a better plan of attaining that object by exacting the *jizya*. By this means idolatry will be suppressed, the Muhammadan religion and the true faith will be honoured, our proper duty will be performed, the finances of the State will be increased, and the infidels will be disgraced." On hearing this, all the nobles and ministers of the throne admired and praised the wisdom of the Emperor, who added, that "by this plan the money would be saved, because the infidels came several times in a year and paid only a little into the treasury; but they will pay the *jizya* only once a year, and the Government income will be increased, which is the grand object." This was highly approved of by all nobles; and the Emperor ordered all the golden and silver idols to be broken, and the temple destroyed. The revenue of the Government was much increased; it not only exceeded *lacs*, but came up to several *krors*. The *jizya* was collected from all, great and small, Hindus as well as rebel infidels, in all parts of the Empire, which extended on three sides to the sea. The Government officers also

made great extertions in levying it, and in no case acted with indulgence and partiality. Consequently Islam acquired great predominance, and the Muhammadans were so dreaded that, for instance, if a Hindu went riding on his horse, and a peon of the office which collected the tax caught him, the colour of his face instantly changed, and he began to coax the peon; but until he had shown the receipt for the *jizya* of the year, he could not stir a step from the place without being taken to the office. But at present the rule for the *jizya* is totally abolished.

TARIKH-I HINDI

OF

RUSTAM 'ALI

THE author of this work is Rustam 'Ali, son of Muhammad Khali Shahabadi. He gives as the immediate reason of writing the *Tarikh-i Hindi*, that contemporaries, from excessive attachment to this world, neglected entirely to ponder on their existence, either as regards its origin or end; and from their firm belief, under the delusions of their evil passions, in the long duration of their lives in this world of mutations, pursued a presumptuous and vain line conduct. So he entertained a desire to commit to writing a brief account of just kings, and how they controlled oppressors and tyrants, in the hope that, while it might prove a lesson to the wise, it would not fail to draw the attention of intelligent readers to the instability of all earthly pleasures, and the short duration of human life, and so induce them to withdraw their affections from this world.

The execution of his intention was, however, suspended for a time by necessities, which compelled him to travel from city to city in search of employment and subsistence, until at last he was fortunate enough to take up his abode in Bhopal. Here, for a period of three years, he subsisted on the munificence of certain great men and

many sincere friends, more especially on the liberal support of Nawab Yar Muhammad Khan, "a just nobleman, under whose administration the inhabitants of the dependencies of Bhopal enjoy the blessings of peace." As the wants of the author were thus supplied, he attained peace of mind, and was enabled to compose the work which was the object of his heart's desire.

The *Tarikh-i Hindi* was composed in the year 1154 A.H. (1741-2 A.D.)as we learn, not only from an ambiguous passages in the Preface, but from an express declaration to that effect at the beginning of the tenth chapter. The history also closes at that period, though towards the end of the work the twenty-fourth year of Muhammad Shah is mentioned, which would make it a year later. Only six pages, however, preceding this passage, the author reiterates the statement that the work was composed in the twenty-third year of Muhammad Shah's reign. It may be considered altogether a useful compliation, as it is not copied verbatim from known authors, and in the latter part of it the author writes of many matters which came under his own observation or those of his friends. Amongst the works which he most frequently quotes are two, of which no traces can be obtained. —the *Siyar-i Hindi* and the *Faiuzat-i Akbari*. The former is frequently mentioned, from the time of the Slave Dynasty to the reign of Farrukh Siyar, and must, therefore, be a general History of India. The quotations from the *Faiuzat-i Akbari* are rarer, but extend from the time of Mahmud Ghaznavi to the time of Muhammad Shah. It appears to be partly a religious work, containsome historical anecdotes, for in the conclusion, in the chapter upon holy men, he says that it was composed by Shah Ghulam Muhiu-d din, and dedicated to his spiritual teacher, Saiyid Shah 'Ali Akbar, after whom it was called *Faiuzat-i Akbari*. Other works incidentally quoted are the *Tarikh-i Badauni, Habibu-s Siyar, Khulasatu-t Tawarikh, Akbar-shahi, Tarikh-i Farrukh Siyar, Tarikh-i Jahangir, Mir-at-i Mas'udi, Tarikh-i Shahabi*, and the

Tarikh-i Mahmudi. It is probable that the last two are familiar works disguised under uncommon appelations.

The author is fond of indulging in poetical quotations, sentences from the Kuran, and moral reflections. But the quotations have been excluded from the following Extracts.

This History is divided into an Introduction, ten Chapters (*tabaka*), and a Conclusion.

CONTENTS

Preface, p. 1—Introduction, on the Creation, the instability of the world, and an account of Hindustan, p. 8—Chap. i. On the Hindu Rajas preceding Islam, p. 56—ii. The Ghaznivides and Ghorians, p. 124—iii. The Khilji Sultans, p. 176—iv. The Tughlik-shahi Sultans, p. 193—v. The Khizr-khanians, p. 216—vi. The Lodi Afghan Sultans, p. 225—vii. The early Timurian Kings, p. 257—viii. The Sur Afghan Dynasty, p. 279—ix. The minor independent Dynasties, p. 326—x. The later Timurian Kings, p. 348. Conclusion—On the holy; learned, and excellent men and poets, whom the author has conversed with, or heard of, p. 595.

Size—8vo., containing 651 pages, each of 11 lines.

The only copy which I know of the *Tarikh-i Hindi* was obtained for me by the kindness of Miyan Faujdar Muhammad Khan, from the library of Nawab Sikandra Begam of Bhopal, and being in the possession of the descendants of Yar Muhammad Khan, the patron of the author, it is perhaps unique. But though there may be more copies in Bhopal, it is probale there are very few beyond the precincts of that city.

[The Extracts which follow were translated by a *munshi*, and revised by Sir H. M. Elliot.]

EXTRACTS

Reign of Abu-l Fath Nasiru-d din Muhammad Shah

The Prince was a lover of pleasure and indolence, negligent of political duties, and addicted to loose habits.

but of somewhat a generous disposition. He was entirely careless regarding his subjects. As is well known, this Emperor, so long as *Amiru-l umara* Husain 'Ali Khan lived, strictly observed, by virtue of the efficient management of that great Saiyid. all the ancient laws and established rules of his ancestors. The achievement of all undertakings, the arrangement of all political affairs, and the execution of all wars were carried on in an excellent manner by the wisdom of that high nobleman. The Emperor decided all disputes without partiality, according to the Muhammadan law; but when some of the nobles. natives of this country and of Turan, overcome by their evil passions, and merely through envy and malice, put that well-wisher of the creatures of God to death, to the great mortification of poor people and all good subjects, the Emperor became master of his own will, and, actuated by his youthful passions and folly and pride resigned himself to frivolous pursuits and the company of wicked and mean characters. This created a spirit of opposition and enmity towards him in those very nobles who, from their malicious disposition, had been the instruments of the death of Husain 'Ali Khan. The Emperor, on account of the rebellion of the nobles, the fear of his own life, and the temptations of his evil passions, shut up the gate of justice and gave no ear to complaints. As the splendour and delight of the garden of this world, and the verdure and fruitfullness of the fields of this earth, depend upon the flow of the stream of the equity and justice of Kings, so the withering of the trees of this world is caused by the hot winds of the negligence and carelessness of rulers and dissensions among well-disposed nobles.

In a short time, many of the officers of this kingdom put out their feet from the path of obedience to the sovereign, and many of the infields, rebels, tyrants and enemies stretched out the hands of rapacity and extortion upon the weaker tributaries and the poor subjects. Great disorders arose in the country, which shall be briefly

related, according to each year of the reign, if God please.

Fifth Year of the Reign

At the end of this year, Sharfu-d daula Iradatmand Khan, with a body of nobles, was sent against Raja Ajit Singh, who, having broken out into open mutiny, and taken possession of Ajmir and Sambhar, had reached as far as Narnaul. He was accompanied by Raja Jai Singh Sawai, Muhammad Khan Bangash, and Gopal Singh, Raja of Bhadawar, at the head of an army of about one hundred thousand horse and more than two hundred elephants. Raja Ajit Singh, on hearing the news, lost all courage, fled Narnaul, and took refuge in the fort of Garh-patti. Here he held out for some time, and at last, mounting a camel, went off to Jodhpur. He then sued for peace, and made over his son, Dhankul Singh, to the nobles to carry to Court. In the mean time, Ajit Singh was slain by younger son, Bakht Singh, and Dhankal Singh, upon reaching the Court, obtained the investiture of the chiefship. He returned to his country, and became its ruler. His brother, Bakht Singh, besieged the fort of Nagor, and having driven out the Raja of that place, became himself master of it. In the same year Raj Jai Singh founded a magnificent new city between the towns of Amber and Sanganir, and called it Jaipur, after the name of Sawi Jai Singh.

Sixth Year of the Reign

Nizamu-l Mulk, being disgusted with the Emperor, went towards Muradabad and Sambhal, under the pretence of hunting. When he had gone as far as the Ganges, near the town of Garh Muktesar, he at once turned aside from his course, and proceeding *via* Kol and Jalesar, crossed the Chambal and went towards the Dakhin. The Emperor, on hearing of this, sent orders to Mubariz Khan, appointing him governor of that province, and instigating him to destroy Nizamu-l Mulk. Mubarizu-l Mulk,

in consideration of the obligations he owed, went from Haidarabad towards Aurangabad. Nizamul- Mulk sued for peace, but Mubariz Khan was destined for the honour of martyrdom, so he did not listen to his advances, and rashly engaged in fight. The brave warriors, having boldly fought, put many insurgents to the sword. By chance, Mubarizu-l Mulk was slain, and Nizamu-l Mulk, in perfect security, obtained the governorship of the Dakhin. Muhammad Shah, on being informed of this, was obliged to confer the post of minister, which was vacated by Nizamu-l Mulk, on I'timadu-d daula Kamru-d din Khan, and sent a *farman* to Nizamu-l Mulk, appointing him governor of the Dakhin, and bestowing on him the rank of vicegerency and the title of Asaf Jah.

Seventh Year of the Reign

In this year a person, having assumed the name of Sabir Shah, went to Kumaon, and represented to the Raja of that place, whose name was Debi Singh, that he was one of the princes of the house of Timur, and thus obtained repeated orders on the functionaries below the hills at Kasipur and Rudarpur, to the eflect that they should give him a red tent, such as is usual for the royal family, as well as some troops to accompany him. Having carried these orders into effect, they collected no less than forty thousand Rohillas. Shaikh 'Azamatu-llah Khan, who in those days was the governor of Muradabad and Sambhal, was sent to quell the insurrection, with a body of fifteen thousand horse and twelve elephants. In a single attack he overthrew the Rohilla army. The Afghans were dispersed, and many were put to the sword. Sabir Shah fled towards the east, and went to Burhanu-l Mulk, who, having captured him, sent him to the Emperor, under the custody of Murid Khan, a noble of high rank, and he was ordered to be imprisoned.

Ninth Year of the Reign

A dispute arose in the Emperor's audience chamber between Muzaffar Khan and Burhanu-l Mulk, because the latter officer, in the province of Oudh, had taken possession of the *jagirs* of *mansabdars*. It continued many days, and at last Mir Jumla Yar Khan was appointed by the Emperor of the World to decide it. He was of opinion that Burhanu-l Mulk should resign the governorship of Oudh, and Muzaffar Khan the office of superintendent of the ordnance. The former situation, in consequence of the removal of Burhanu-l Mulk, was given to Muzaffar Khan, and Burhanu-l Mulk was to be appointed governor of Malwa. This decision was approved and confirmed, and the office of the superintendent of ordnance, which was vacated by Muzaffar Khan, was entrusted to Sa'du-d din Khan, in whose place, Sher Afghan Khan was appointed steward of the household. Muzaffar Khan, with the intention of going to the province of Oudh, pitched his tents near Patparganj, and Burhanu-l Mulk marched towards Malwa; but when the latter reached Agra, he at once crossed the river Jumna, and went towards Oudh. Muzaffar Jang was consequently obliged to proceed to Ajmir, as the government of that province included Narnaul and Sambhar.

Tenth Year of the Reign.

Muhammad Khan Bangash Ghazanfar Jang, with an army of eighty thousand horse and more than a hundred elephants, proceeded to the province of Allahabad, to fight against Raja Chatrsal. After great exertions and many actions, the fort of Jitgarh, where he resided, was taken. Chatrsal fled for refuge to the *Zamindars* of Jharna and Purna, and the whole territory came into the possession of the Khan.

Burhanu-l Mulk led an army against the fort of Chachandi, near Shahabad Kanauj, the chief of which was Hindu Singh, a Chandela Rajput. He was, however,

not to be subdued; but Raja Gopal Singh Bhadauria, who accompanied Burhanu-l Mulk, under the pretence of making peace, went to Hindu Singh and told him that it was not expedient to quarrel with the Emperor's nobles, that he should leave the fort for three days, and he called God to witness that, after three days, when peace would be concluded, the possession of the fort should be restored to him. Hindu Singh was deceived, and left the fort, and with his family and property pitched his tents at some distance. The third day, by the order of Burhanu-l Mulk, Raja Gopal Singh, breaking his word, took the fort and *zamindari* into his own possession. Consequently Hindu Singh, having no remedy, prepared to fight with the army of Burhanu-l Mulk, which amounted to about sixty thousand horse, but, baffled in his attempt, retreated towards the territory of Chatrsal. As a punishment for violating his promise, Raja Gopal Singh soon hastened towards his own destruction. After his death, his son, Antrat Singh, was confirmed in possession of that district.

Eleventh Year of the Reign

The brother-in-law of Tahawwur Khan, named Muhammad Afzal, according to the Emperor's orders, succeeded Tahawwur Khan as his heir in the *zamindari* of Shah Jahanpur, and took possession of it. 'Abdu-llah Khan and Zuhuru-llah Khan, brothers of Taju-d din Khan, who had fled away towards Shamsabad-mau, in conjunction with Mir Khurram 'Ali, a relative of the author, collected eight thousand horse of the Rohilla tribe, and advanced towards that city. Muhammad Afzal came out against him with a large body of Afghans. A most fierce battle was fought near the city on the banks of the Garra. Muhammad Afzal was slain, and 'Abdu-llah Khan became master of the *zamindari*.

Mir Mushrif, who was one of the principal officers of the great Emperor, departed from this perishable world to

the everlasting regions, and was buried in a garden which he had himself made.

TWELFTH YEAR OF THE REIGN.

Saiyid Miran, who was truly a man of great virtue and devotion, went on a Friday to the *Jama' Masjid* of Dehli, and, in order to attract attention to the wrongs of the oppressed people, prohibited the reading of the *khutba,* upon which, the *Hazaris* of the artillery, under the Emperor's orders, put him to death. From that day disturbances arose throughout the kingdom, and enemies and rebels gained more and more power every day. The Emperor greatly regretted this event, but to no purpose.

It was reported to the Emperor that the base enemy (the Mahrattas),[1] having crossed the Nerbadda, had attacked Giridhar Bahadur, the Governor of Malwa, and plundered his camp.

The Emperor also received intelligence in this year that Baji Rao Mahratta, having collected an army of 100,000 horse, had come to assist Raja Chatrsal, and had besieged Muhammad Khan Bangash in Jitgarh. The time of the decadence of the Empire had arrived, and in retaliation for shedding the innocent blood of Saiyid Miran, no plan of repelling the enemy proved effectual. From that time to this the power and dominion of that tribe has daily increased. The siege of Jitgarh lasted for six months, and within the fort one *sir* of flour was sold for eighty rupees. At last, Chatrsal obliged Muhammad Khan to evacute the fort, and having given him back some of the horses which he had plundered from him, allowed him to depart. In the way, the Khan met with his son, Kaira Khan, at the head of twelve thousand horse, and both father and son returned to their native city, Farrukhabad, which had been founded in the name of Muhammad Farrukh Siyar.

[1] *Throughout the Mahrattas are designated simply as* ghanim "*enemies.*"

From that time the population increased every day, and gradually it became a very large city.

In this year, in the month of Sha'ban, a great tumult arose in the *Jama' Masjid,* to avenge the death of a Musulman who was slain by a Hindu of the name of Subh Karan. The Hindus were assisted by the Royal *mutasaddis* (or writers). On Friday, at about 3 o'clock, a great fight took place. Seventeen men were killed within the Masjid, and Sher Afghan Khan, the Emperor's steward, having received a wound, escaped by the assistance of Roshanu-d daula.

THIRTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

Muhammad Khan Bangash, Ghazanfar Jang was appointed Governor of the province of Malwa, on condition of his chastising the enemy. When he went there, he sometimes fought with them, sometimes connived at their proceedings, and in this manner managed to prolong the period of his government.

FOURTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

Information was received that Muhammad Khan Ghazanfar Jang had crossed the Nerbadda, and joined Nizamu-l Mulk. He was removed from the government of Malwa, and Raja Jai Singh Sawai was appointed in his stead.

In this year Mir Jumla Tarkhan, one of the greatest nobles, and a man of learning and a friend of the learned, who was chiefly engaged in the study of the natural sciences, according to the will of God, departed this transitory world. This Mir Jumla was called Mir 'Ibadu-llah. He came to Hindustan from Samarkand in search of his father, Mir Abu-l Wafa, who had become *kazi* of Benares. By degrees he himself was appointed *kazi* of the province of Bengal, and when Prince Muhammad Farrukh Siyar became governor of that province, he made him his tutor. During the time of this Prince's reign he has reckoned one of the greatest

nobles of the State, and had the conduct of all political affairs in his hands. At last, through the hostility of the Saiyids, he was deprived, after the murder of Farrukh Siyar, of all the insignia of nobility; but, by the favour of Husain 'Ali Khan, he was again raised to his former rank and *jagir,* as well as to the office of *Sadru-s sudur.* He was a person of exceeding generosity, and gave away *lacs* of rupees. He was often heard to say, that as regards the works of this world, he had only one desire unfulfilled, which was that he had never been able to give any person a present of one *kror* of rupees. He loved knowledge and learned men, because by means of his learning he had reached the Emperor's Court, and obtained his rank.

In the same year, at the instigation of Raja Jai Singh, the vile enemy took possession of Malwa, and the Raja himself added to his own territory many *parganas* which belonged to the Emperor in the vicinity of Amber. Dhankal Singh, Raja of Marwar, sacked the district of Rewari, which is thirty *kos* from Dehli, and took thirteen *lacs* of rupees from the authorities of that place. The enemies in all parts of the country stretched out their hands to ravage and plunder.

FIFTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

Waziru-l Mulk I'timadu-d daula Kamru-d din Khan, with 70,000 horse, marched from Dehli against Udaru, the *Zamindar* of Kora Jahanabad, who had killed Jan Nisar Khan. Udaru, on receiving the intelligence, retired from the district, and Kamru-d din Khan returned to the seat of Empire through Kanauj and Farrukhabad.

SIXTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

Muzaffar Khan, brother of Khan-dauran Khan, accompanied by Jai Singh and other Rajas, was despatched with a large army against the enemy, but being informed

at Sironj that they had crossed the Nerbadda, and gone to the Dakhin, he returned to the capital.

SEVENTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

According to the Emperor's orders, I'timadu-d daula Kamru-d din Khan Nusrat Jang, with a large army, many elephants, and heavy ordnance, moved towards the enemy through Agra, and Amiru-l umara Bahadur Samsamu-d daula Mansur Jang, with many nobles and Rajas, and at the head of an army said to amount to 90,000 horse, and a large park of artillery, marched through the territory of Mewat. But through the misrepresentations of Raja Jai Singh, he was induced to give orders not to commence an action. One day, however, as 'Ali Hamid Khan, one of the chief nobles, had left camp, he encountered by chance a body of the enemy. Although he had no force with him at the time, yet with his few attendants he repulsed the assailants, and returned to the camp in safety. As the *Amiru-l umara* would not engage with the enemy, one of the nobles named Tirandaz Khan deserted him, and departed with three hundred horse with the intention of going to Dehli; upon which a party of the enemy, acting, it is said, under the instructions of Raja Jai Singh, hastened in pursuit, and having overtaken him, surrounded him on all sides like a swarm of ants and locusts. Tir-andaz Khan showed great courage, and after fighting nobly, met with the honour of martyrdom. Of his followers some were killed, and others fell prisoners into the hands of the enemy.

In the mean time, one of the enemy, by name Malharji, with a body of 45,000 horse, overran some of the *parganas* of Raja Jai Singh, and laid siege to the fort of Sambhar. After three days the city was taken and plundered. It is said that nine hundred inhabitants of the city were killed and wounded. He took a contribution of one hundred and fifty thousand rupees, besides two elephants and some horses from Fakhru-d din Husain

Khan, son of Udu Afghan Khan, the then governor of the place, and returned to oppose the army of the *Amiru-l umara*.

The *Amiru-l umara*, deceived by Raja Jai Singh, returning to the capital without coming once to action, arrived on the 17th of Zi-l hijja. I'timadu-d daula, who had gone to oppose the enemy *via* Agra, fought with Piluji Mahratta, near Narwar.

At last, he also, leaving the result of the war, returned to Dehli on the 29th of Zi-l hijja in the same year.

EIGHTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The enemy went to the territory of Mewar, which is ruled by the Rana, reached the city of U'dipur, and having taken a contribution from the Rana, turned towards Marwar, plundered the city of Mirta, took some tribute from Bakht Singh, Raja of Nagor, and then arrived at Ajmir. The Mahratta chiefs alighted from their horses, and with the utmost respect visited the tomb of the great and venerable Khwaja, and thence advanced to the fort of Rupnagar. Raja Sawant Singh had busied himself in strengthening the fort with heavy guns. The army of the enemy, seeing no way of success, retreated, after suffering much loss, towards Jaipur. In the mean time, Yadgar Khan Rao, Saiyid Kirparan, and Najabat 'Ali Khan, the nephew of Husain 'Ali Khan, went to Jai Singh, to request his interposition in coming to some accommodation with the enemy. All these officers, with the concurrence of Raja Jai Singh, gave the enemy in the district of Kishangarh a sum of twenty *lacs* of rupees on the part of the Emperor, to induce them to return to the Dakhin, when they themselves returned to Dehli.

During this year Burhanu-l Mulk Sa'adat Khan went towards Kora Jahanabad. The chief of that tract, named Bhagwant, son of Udaru, who before this, having killed Jan Nisar Khan, governor of that place, had greatly injured and oppressed the peasantry, on receiving the

news of the Burhanu-l Mulk's advance, marched forward with a body of vagabonds amounting to twenty-five thousand horse and foot. The army of Burhanu-l Mulk, excepting himself and two thousand horse, had not yet crossed the Ganges, when suddenly the army of that ringleader of the infidels appeared. After both parties had met, much fighting ensued. Bhagwant Singh himself shot an arrow which wounded Burhanu-l Mulk in the arm. But that lion of the field of courage immediately drew it out, and in turn shot that vile infidel in the forehead, and sent him to the next world. Many of his followers were slain, and the rest fled away. Burhanu-l Mulk victoriously returned to camp, and ordered him to be flayed, and his skin to be filled with straw. His head and that of his son were placed on the points of spears and sent to the capital.

In the beginning of Sha'ban of this year the compiler of this work saw with his own eyes the skins and heads of both those unfortunate wretches hanging in the *bazar* of Dehli near the Police Office.

NINETEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The Mahratta armies entered the territory of Bhadawar, the chief of which, Amrat Singh, collected an army, advanced from the town of Ater with the utmost intrepidity, and gave battle at the distance of a *kos* from that town. It is commonly reported that the army of the Raja consisted of seven thousand horse, twenty thousand foot, and forty-five elephants; while that of the invaders amounted to near one hundred thousand horse. The war continued for one month; and although the territory of Bhadawar lay close to the capital, yet that Emperor, the asylum of negligence, took no measures for the expulsion of the foe. It is said that one of the brothers of the Raja, who had long cherished hatred against him in his own bosom, joined with the enemy, who, at his instigation, left half of his army to confront the Raja, and

sent the other half through the towns of Gohad and Barhad to the town of Ater, which they began to plunder. The Raja was obliged to retreat, fighting all the way with the enemy, and got safe into the fort. Although the enemy had plundered much treasure and property, yet he took besides a contribution of twenty *lacs* of rupees in cash and ten elephants.

After this, in the beginning of Zi-l hijja of the same year, the enemy's army having crossed the river Jumna, near the village of Rapri, besieged the fort of Shukohabad. Lalji Khatri, the governor of that place, presented him one hundred and fifty thousand rupees and an elephant, and thus saved the town. Marching thence, the invaders burnt down Firozabad and I'timadpur, which is five *kos* from the capital, Agra, and plundered them, and then proceeded towards Jalesar. All of a sudden, about dawn, Burhanu-l Mulk drew near, having marched from Etawa in pursuit of the enemy. At first, his nephew Abu-l Mansur Khan Safdar Jang, with twelve thousand horse, came in sight, when the Mahrattas, with their usual confidence, considering his force to be small, surrounded him on all sides. Abu-l Mansur Khan slowly retreated, fighting all the way, till he reached the spot occupied by Burhanu-l Mulk, at the head of fifty thousand horse. When the Mahrattas approached near, he suddenly charged the army of those rebels with his cavalry, like a wolf falling upon sheep, or a tiger upon a deer. Thus those vagabonds, seized by the hand of death, were obliged to run away in alarm towards the forest.

The Muhammadan army pursued them, made heaps of the slain, and kept the battle raging for the distance of thirty-five *kos*. A body of the invaders were overtaken near the tank of I'timadpur, and three chiefs with about a thousand men were taken prisoners. Those who escaped the sword crossed the river Jumna. Many of them missed the ford, and were drowned in the river of eternity, but most of them escaped and joined their countrymen. When the prisoners were brought before

Burhanu-l Mulk, he gave each man a rupee for his expenses, and set them all at liberty; but he kept the three chiefs loaded with chains. After this, he returned towards Shah Jahanabad, from which place *Amiru-l umara* Khandauran was advancing with a body of twenty-five thousand horse, some guns, and many elephants, accompanied by Muhammad Khan Bangash Ghaznafar Jang, at the head of twelve thousand horse. The army, which in the beginning of Zi-l ka'da had been ordered by His Majesty to proceed against the enemy, met Burhanu-l Mulk near the city of Mathura, in the beginning of the month of Zi-l hijja.

One day, the *Amiru-l umara* invited Burhanu-l Mulk to his tents, and prepared a feast for his reception. In the midst of the banquet it was suddenly reported that the enemy's army, having marched through the town of Fathpur, and leaving Dig, the native land of Badna Jat, on the right, had arrived at Dehli. Burhanu-l Mulk, on hearing this, bit the finger of sorrow with the teeth of distraction, and, mounting an elephant, hastened towards that city. It is commonly said that I'tmadu-d daula Kamru-d din Khan, who, with the intention of expelling the enemy, was then encamped near Kaman Pahari, also returned to Dehli. In the mean time, Raja Jai Singh, having marched from Jaipur with an army of fifty thousand Rajput horse and above seventy elephants, advanced as far as the town of Nimranu; but when he heard the news of Burhanu-l Mulk's march towards the capital, he returned to Jaipur. The enemy's army, having sacked the village of Nakal, near Dehli, went to the shrine of the great Khwaja Kutbu-d din; but as they could not obtain admittance, they plundered the inhabitants of the place, and the next day appeared before the Barahpola. Early in the morning, according to the Emperor's orders, Mir Hasan Khan, the commandant of the Emperor's body-guard, came out to oppose him with a body of one thousand *mansabdari* horse. Immediately behind him, Amir Khan, and other nobles, with a large

army and artillery, came out of the city, and stood before the enemy; but as they had not been ordered to fight, they did not commence the battle. Mir Hasan Khan and Raja Sheo Singh, however, advanced and fought valiantly. . . . During the fight the enemy retreated, and pitched their tents near Tal Katora. The next morning, on hearing the news of Burhanu-l Mlk's arrival, Baji Rao, the chief of the Mahrattas, rode like a jackal running away at the roar of a tiger, and fled from the place. Karmu-d din Khan, who had advanced with three hundred men, engaged in a severe skirmish, and retired after killing some of his opponents.

As Burhanu-l Mulk had advanced without orders and engaged with the enemy, he fell under His Majesty's displeasure, and being distressed at this, he crossed the Jumna without an interview with the Emperor, and returned to his own residence. When the *Amiru-l umara* and Muhammad Khan were returning to Dehli, the Jats of the village of Mitrol, between Kodal and Palwal, fell on their baggage and pludered it. Consequently the army surrounded the village, and having sacked it, set it on fire. The *Amiru-l umara* entered the seat of the Empire, and according to the royal orders, Muhammad Khan returned to Agra for its protection. Towards the end of the same year Nizamu-l Mulk arrived from the Dakhin, and on Monday, the 16th of Rabi'u-l awwal, had an interview with His Majesty in the capital.

TWENTIETH YEAR OF THE REIGN

In the commencement of this year 8000 horse of the Rathor Rajputs, among whom were eighteen chiefs, the relatives of Raja Dhankal Singh, assembled on some pretence in the city of Sambhar. Bharat Singh, their leader, by whose hands Shaikh Illahyar Khan of Bilgram had been slain in the battle which was fought between Sarbuland Khan and Dhankal Singh, openly drank wine on a Friday in the Masjid of Sambhar, and prohibited the *muazzin* from calling to prayer. It happened that

Hyatu-llah Khan, son of Jamalu-llah Khan, the governor of the place, with a few men, went to them in the evening. After some verbal altercation, the matter ended in a regular fight. That lion of the field of battle thrust Bharat Singh into the well of destruction with a stroke of his lance. The market of the angel of death was thronged through the use of rockets, arrows, and lances. Eighteen chiefs of the opponents were slain, and the rest fled away. Three followers of the Khan, who were Saiyids of Narnaul, obtained the degree of martyrdom, and were interred near the tomb of Saiyid Husain Khan.

During this year I'timadu-d daula Kamru-d din Khan, with 50,000 horse and many elephants and guns, moved towards Barha, the native place of Saiyids, and sent 'Azimu-llah Khan Zahiru-d daula with a large army to precede him. 'Azimu-llah Khan, for fear of his life, placed several guns round him in the shape of a triangle. Saifu-d din 'Alikhan, brother of Kutbu-l Mulk and Husain 'Ali Khan, who was the chief of Barha, with three hundred horse, boldly attacked that miserable body. When the Mughals fired their guns, a great number of the Saiyids were killed; but Saifu-d din 'Ali Khan, with a few other Saiyids, to avenge their death, drew out their swords, and repulsed the Mughals to the distance of three miles. Suddenly the wanderer of the forest of wretchedness and misfortune, by name 'Ali Muhammad, a Rohilla, at the direction of I'timadu-d daula, and with the hope of preferment, came from the rear with 20,000 Rohillas, and fell upon the Saiyids. Thus he sacrificed the good of the next world to the desires of this earth, and became the cause of victory to the Turanis. 'Azimu-llah Khan, having buried the Saiyids, returned to Dehli laden with immense plunder, and accompanied by I'timadu-d daula. It was just punishment of this crime of persecuting the Saiyids, that soon after they suffered the calamities occasioned by Nadir Shah.

In this year Nizamu-l Mulk, on the condition of

subduing the enemy, was appointed governor of Agra and Malwa. Proceeding through Bundelkhand, he reached the latter province, and a battle was fought with the enemy near the town of Bhopal, founded by Dost Muhammad Khan, whose eldest son, Yar Muhammad Khan, is still ruling over it with wisdom and equity.

As the crooked mind of Nizamu-l Mulk was bent towards such things as were contrary to what his name imports, viz. administration, he allowed disturbances to break out in the country, and with his eyes open suffered for one or two days grain to be sold in his camp one *sir* for a rupee. On account of the tumults and quarrels raised by him, many people were hastened to their graves with the stroke of starvation, and many Musulmans, by the tricks of that unprincipled man, fell into the hands of the enemy, and met with their destruction. At last, on being informed of this, Muhammad Shah sent orders appointing Baji Rao to the governorship of Malwa. Nizamu-l Mulk, reproached by the people, and deceived by the enemy, returned to the capital. The Mahrattas laid siege to the fort of Kota; and the Maharao Kaja fled away in alarm, and took refuge in Gagrun, which is one of the strongest forts in that part of the country. The inhabitants of Kota. to preserve their honour, opposed the ravagers and saved the city. At last peace was declared, and the invader, having taken a contribution of several *lacs* of rupees, went towards Ahirwara, the country of the tribe of Ahirs. He overran this district, and besieged the fort of Korwai, near the town of Sironj, which was the residence of 'Izzat Khan, son of Diler Khan Afghan. 'Izzat Khan fought very bravely for two months, when peace was made. During the siege of Korwai, the compiler of this work went to the enemy's camp On seeing the fort encircled like the stone of a ring by the army which resembled swarms of ants and locusts, the safety of those who were in it appeared impossible but the result deceived expectation.

When Nizamu-l Mulk, with all the pomp and circumstance attaching to his high station, accompanied the Mahrattas against the fort of Bhopal, Yar Muhammad Khan, ruler of the place, who was celebrated for his courage, by dint of great bravery and determination, expelled Nizamu-l Mulk out of his possessions without sustaining any injury from the insurgents. Many nobles and other respectable people, on account of the ravage and desolation committed in the Emperor's dominions by the enemy, found protection in this territory, and lived in peace and tranquillity under the Khan's just rule.

The compiler of this book, on hearing the praises of the Khan left the enemy's camp at Sironj, and came to the city of Bhopal, which is full of nobles and excellent people from all parts of the country. In fact, from the day he had left Shah-Jahanabad, and travelled through the country of idolatry, it was here only that he found Islam to be predominant.

It is said that Bhopal was founded in the time of Raja Bhoj. Afterwards by some accident it was ruined and reduced to only a small village on the borders of the lake, which in length and depth is the greatest of all the lakes in this country. When, by a lucky accident, Dost Muhammad Khan, son of Nur Muhammad Khan Afghan, of the tribe of Warakzai Mirzai Khail.,[2] came from Roh to the country of Hindustan, he met at Jalalabad his relatives, who were the descendants of the same ancestors. When Almighty God wishes to raise one of his creatures to some great rank in this world or the next, He first throws him into difficulties and troubles, and after that exalts his dignity in order that he may estimate its true merits. And so it happened that a misunderstanding arose between the brothers, and that Khan of noble dis-

[2]*Malcom calls it "the Miraju Kheil."—"Central India," vol. i. p.* 350.

position, alone, and without any means of subsistence, left Jalalabad, and went to the province of the Malwa. By his judicious plans and great exertions, he took possession of several parts of this province, and at a most auspicious moment, in the fifth year of Muhammad Shah's reign, corresponding to A.H. 1135 (1723 A.D.), laid the foundation of the city of Bhopal. Under his just rule the lion and goat drank water at the same pool. He was so generous that even Hatim would envy him. A great number of saints always dined with him.

When the fame of his virtues reached the ear of the ministers of the Emperor's court, he was favoured by His Majesty, through Saiyid Husain 'Ali Khan, with a *mansab, tuman, togh,* kettle drums, *nubat,* as well as a title. But he died.

After this event the eldest son of the noble Khan, who was with Nizamu-l Mulk in the province of the Dakhin, arrived in this territory, and at a most auspicious time sat upon the *masnad,* administered justice, subjugated a great number of the refractory chiefs, and by his wise measures the country from the banks of the Nerbadda to the vicinity of the town of Sironj, was brought under his power. Notwithstanding that the enemy, having gained great dominion, infested the country from Sattaragarh to the suburbs of Dehli, yet under the good management of this equitable chief the people of his territory were perfectly secure from the ravages of the tyrants. For his surpassing courage and wise administration of the country he received great favours from the throne, and was honoured with the rank of 5000 personal and 5000 horse, together with the insignia of *Mahi* and *Maratib.*

TWENTY-FIRST YEAR OF THE REIGN

As above stated, contention, disaffection, and discord broke out among the nobles, and the report of the enemy's success was noised abroad. The cursed infidels, encouraged by the misrule and carelessness of the sove-

reign, particularly by the hostility and revolt of the very ministers of the throne, had become predominant throughout all the country. Thus incited, the Emperor of Iran, by name Nadir Shah, who, having acquired entire power over that country, had reached up to Balkh and Kandahar, now marched in this direction, with the design of conquering Hindustan, and, as some say, at the suggestion of Nizamu-l Mulk and Sa'adat Khan. It was suddenly reported to the Emperor that Nadir Shah, having invaded Kabul, and obliged Nasir Khan, the governor of the province, to join him, had crossed the Attock and reached Lahore. The Governor of this city also, after a slight show or resistance, had gone over to him. Notwithstanding all this the careless Emperor and the ungrateful nobles, having covered their faces with the veil of gross negligence, were awaiting the approaching misfortune. After the invader had marched past Lahore, the Emperor of Hindustan was compelled to fit out an army. All this delay, which occasioned the subsequent disasters, arose from the Emperor's not confiding in the counsel of any of his ministers. Whatever plan was suggested by the Khan-dauran was opposed by Nizamu-l Mulk, and *vice versa*.

According to the statement of Mir Fakhru-d din, the Emperor of this country, having prepared for war with two hundred thousand horse, foot soldiers without number, fifteen hundred elephants, and many field-pieces and other guns, left Dehli with the intention of expelling the Emperor of Iran. The army of Hindustan, owing to its immense numbers, which amounted to ten hundred thousand, both horse and foot, could scarcely find space to encamp on. Towards the end of the month of Zi-l ka'da, the army encamped near the town of Karnal, and, as some say, according to the advice of Nizamu-l Mulk, was placed all round in the shape of a ring. Notwithstanding this, the soldiers of Iran made attacks from all sides upon the Indians, and carried off corn, grass, and wood, which are essentially necessary for the

maintenance of man. Hence the price of grain was enormously high in the camp. Burhanu-l Mulk, one morning, at the beginning of Zi-l hijja, entered the camp to pay his respects to the Emperor. He had scarcely arrived, when it was reported that twenty thousand horse of Nadir Shah's army had plundered all his camp, equipage, and baggage. Burhanu-l Mulk instantly took his leave, beat the drums of battle, and went after the plunderers. It is said that the whole army of Nadir Shah amounted to fifty-five thousand fighting horsemen, skilful in the art of war and murder, while others make it amount to three hundred thousand horse.

No sooner had *Amiru-l umara* Khan-dauran heard that Burhanu-l Mulk had gone, than he also, without making any due preparation, went to the field with a force which amounted, according to some, to seven thousand, and according to others, to twenty thousand horse. Burhanl-l Mulk, a short time after the armies had engaged, was taken prisoner and carried before Nadir Shah. That nobleman, renouncing his dependence upon the will of God, and acting according to the dictates of his own choice, precipitated matters; but Providence discomfited all his plans. After the capture of Burhanu-l Mulk, the army of Nadir Shah surrounded *Amiru-l umara* on all sides, and began to shoot their arrows and fire their guns, and the battle raged till the close of the day. The Indian warriors, *saiyids, shaikhs,* Afghans, and Rajputs, so fought with their cruel swords that, had Rustam and Afrasiyab lived to this time, their livers would have become water at the sight of this dreadful battle. The Iranis, dreading the swords of these brave men, left the field, and, firing their guns from a distance and from different quarters, made heaps of the corpses of Indians, who preferred death to fight.

At last the great luminary of the world set in the west, and with the approach of night darkness spread over the earth; yet up to this time no army came to

reinforce *Amiru-l umara,* all through the connivance of Nizamu-l Mulk, who, with the utmost animosity towards the followers of Islam, always held out encouragement to infidels and tyrants. It is said that five thousand men on the side of *Amiru-l umara* met with the honour of martyrdom, among whom were Muzaffar Khan, his brother, Mir Kallu, 'Ali Hamid Khan, Yadgar Khan, Lodi Khan, and other nobles. In the evening *Amiru-l umara,* with a few of his men, returned from the field to his tent, wounded and sorrowful. The next day he set in array a new army, with the intention of hazarding another battle, and defeating Nadir Shah, who had trembled at the courage displayed. But the Amir fell, and drank the cup of martyrdom.

It is said that when Burhanu-l Mulk fell into the hands of Nadir Shah, the Shah inquired from him all the particulars of this Government. He was informed in reply that Khan-dauran, who had fought with him that day, was only one of the servants of the Emperor of Hindustan, and that, like him, there were many other nobles and Rajas, possessed of great power and much courage, in his camp as well as in all parts of the kingdom, and that any one of them was well able to cope with him. He recommended him, therefore, to receive something on account of his travelling expenses, and return to his own country. Nadir Shah was confounded to hear this, and peace was determined on.

Muhammad Shah, by the advice of Nizamu-l Mulk, rode to the tent of Nadir Shah, whose son came to receive him. The Prince, according to his father's orders, sat below the throne, like an attendant. After the interview, Muhammad Shah dined and returned to his tent.

On the same day Nizamu-l Mulk, with his usual impudence, put on the official dress of the *Amiru-l umara,* which had been promised to Burhanu-l Mulk, who, on being informed of this, under the impulse of ambition, represented to Nadir Shah, that *Amiru-l*

umara Khan-dauran deceased was the only person of importance in the government, and that now there was no man in the kingdom equal to him in power or dignity; that Nadir Shah should contrive to take Muhammad Shah prisoner, and made himself master of the country. Having no regard for gratitude, deluded by the base avarice of this world, and having no shame even for contradicting his own words, he occasioned the general slaughter and great contentions and disasters which ensued. Nadir Shah, having called Nizamu-l Mulk, placed him in custody, and constrained him to send for the Emperor. That wanderer in the forest of envy and malice, without considering what might be the result, wrote a letter under his own hand to the effect that he had settled the terms of peace, and the confirmation of it depended upon his coming. The heedless Emperor, being deceived by that artful person, rode to the tent of Nadir Shah, who ordered the few persons who had gone with the Emperor to be turned out, and the Emperor, with Nizamu-l Mulk, Amir Khan, Is'hak Khan, Jawed Khan, Bihroz Khan, and Jawahir Khan, to be placed in confinement. Some of his myrmidons were sent to I'timadu-d daula Kamru-d din Khan, and forcibly brought him out of his tent into Nadir Shah's camp. At the same time, officers of the Shah were placed as guards on all the offices and establishments of Muhammad Shah. It is said that Fath 'Ali Khan, son of Sabit Khan, and 'Ali Amjid Khan, escaped, and went in safety to their houses, Khan-i zaman Khan, also, escaped after changing his clothes.

The next day, according to Nadir Shah's orders, Burhanu-l Mulk[3] and 'Azimu-llah Khan went to Shah Jahanabad, for the purpose of establishing his rule. Though all these ungrateful persons, through their

[3]["*Nadir Shah appointed Burhanu-l Mulk Wakil-i mutlak.*"—*Bayan-i Waki.*]

ambition, had adhered much to the interests of Nadir Shah, yet, as Providence had destined that the sovereignty of the House of Timur should be preserved, and Muhammad Shah's reign prolonged, they in the end gained nothing but shame and disgrace.

Afterwards Nadir Shah himself, with the Emperor of Hindustan, entered the fort of Dehli. It is said that he appointed a place on one side in the fort for the residence of Muhammad Shah and his dependents, and on the other side he chose the Diwan-i Khas, or, as some say, the Garden of Hayat Bakhsh, for his own accommodation. He sent to the Emperor of Hindustan, as to a prisoner, some food and wine from his own table. One Friday his own name was read in the *khutba,* but on the next he ordered Muhammad Shah's name to be read. It is related that one day a rumour spread in the city that Nadir Shah had been slain in the fort. This produced a general confusion, and the people of the city destroyed five thousand[4] men of his camp. On hearing of this, Nadir Shah came of the fort, sat in the golden *masjid* which was built by Rashanu-d daula, and gave orders for a general massacre. For nine hours an indiscriminate slaughter of all and of every degree was committed. It is said that the number of those who were slain amounted to one hundred thousand.[5] The losses and calamities of the people of Dehli were exceedingly great. . . .

After this violence and cruelty, Nadir Shah collected immense riches,[6] which he began to send to his country laden on elephants and camels. Muhammad Shah

[4]["*Without doubt nearly* 3000 *Persians fell victims.*" —*Bayan-i Waki'*.]

[5]["*It was found by inquiry from the kotwal of the city that nearly* 20,000 *men must have been massacred.*" —*Bayan-i Waki'*.]

[6]["*It is probable that the plunder amounted to about eighty krors of rupees.*"—*Bayan-i Waki'*.]

witnessed with the utmost emotion and indignation these outrages of Nadir Shah, which were occasioned by the rivalry of the disaffected nobles. It is narrated, that one day Nadir Shah, in his public court, spoke some harsh and abusive words to Nizamu-l Mulk and Burhanu-l Mulk, and threatened them with punishment. When they left the court, Nizamu-l Mulk, with all the lying and fraud to which he was naturally habituated, spoke to Burhanu-l Mulk some very soft and heart-rending words, and told him that it would now be difficult to escape the hands of that tyrant; he advised that they both should at the same moment go home, and, taking a cup of deadly poison, pursue the path to death, and sacrifice their lives to their honour. After this, that chief of deceivers went to his house, and, having expressed his will to his relations, and drunk a cup of water mixed with sugar, covered himself with a sheet and went to sleep. Burhanu-l Mulk, who was a true soldier, and was not aware of his perfidy, as soon as he heard this, drank a cup of poison, and went to the next world.

The Shah of Iran, after having brought so many disasters and calamities upon Hindustan, presented to the Emperor of that country seven horses of 'Irak, several trays of jewels and cloths, instilled into him some precepts useful to Emperors, granted *khil'ats* to the ministers of the throne, and, having left Dehli on the 7th of Safar, returned to his own country. He proceeded through the territory of Sind, and having taken a large contribution from its chief, who was of the tribe of Bhatti, went to Kandahar. It is said that after the departure of Nadir Shah, the chiefs and Rajas of all parts of Hindustan sent large sums of money to Muhammad Shah, together with horses, elephants and other property of various kinds.

TWENTY-SECOND YEAR OF THE REIGN

Two *krors* of rupees and three hundred elephants were sent to His Majesty by Shuja-u daula, governor of the

province of Bengal. After Nadir Shah had gone away, Amir Khan was raised to the rank of 7,000 and the office of third *bakhshi,* and Is'hak Khan to the *diwani* of the *khalisa.* They were also received into the favour of the Emperor, on which account Nizamu-l Mulk, again having recourse to his fox-like habits, and being displeased, left Dehli. He spent some days at the village of Tilpat, and at last, with the advice of Mihr-parwar, the grandmother of the Emperor, and on condition that Amir Khan should come out to meet him, returned to the city.

Amir Khan son of Amir Khan senior, one of the chief nobles, was appointed Governor of the province of Allahabad, where he applied himself to the work of administration.

A body of Jats from Mahaban, having raised their heads in rebellion, put Hakim Kazim, the *Faujdar* of the *pargana* of Firozabad, to death, and carried off all his property and treasure. The chief of these insurgents proclaimed that he had assumed the name of Wantar Shah, and more than 5,000 men having flocked round him, he raised great tumult and alarm. Zahiru-d daula 'Azimu-llah Khan went against him with a body of 6,000 horse, and having made an end of him, determined to cross the Chambal, proceed to the territory of Bhadawar, and place Raj Singh, son of Amrat Singh, on the *masnad* of that principality. But on account of the river being too full, he could not cross it, and returned to Dehli.

An army of more than 100,000 Mahratta horse attacked Nasir Jang, son of Nizamu-l Mulk. He, unlike his father, who always assisted the enemy, was the most virtuous man of his time, and possessed great courage and humanity. They burnt villages in the environs of the city of Aurangabad. Upon which Nasir Jang equipped an army, which some say did not exceed 8,000 horse, and sallied out from the city. Nasir Jang fought very bravely, and despatched a great number of the enemy to hell, so that, not being able to stand their ground,

they took to flight. Nasir Jang pursued them, and at the distance of a few *kos*, the enemy again made a stand, when the Musulmans put a great number of them to the sword. By the favour of Almighty God the enemy again fled, and Baji Rao, chief of the miscreants, was greatly surprised at the courage of that lion of the field of heroism. With great ignominy and shame, he stopped on the banks of the Nerbadda, and as the Mahrattas had suffered great loss in the battle with Nasir Jang, they turned towards Hindustan, in the hope of ravaging that country; because they had been informed that, although they themselves had before now reached to the very suburbs of Dehli, and so many ravages had been committed by Nadir Shah, yet the Emperor was still equally as negligent and indifferent as ever. With this idea they gladly crossed the Nerbadda. Malharji, Piluji, and other chiefs of the enemy's army, which, according to some, was no less than 50,000 horse, came through Bundelkhand as far as the banks of the Jumna; but suddenly, on hearing that Baji Rao, having fallen into the claws of death, had gone to the deserts of hell, they returned, without accomplishing anything, towards Sattara-garh to meet Raja Sahu.

Raghu, nephew of Raja Sahu, at the head of 80,000 horse, fought with Nasir Jang, to avenge the defeat of Baji Rao. Nasir Jang in this battle also gave a complete repulse to the infidel enemy.

One of the nobles, by name Shuja'u-d daula, who was a very good man, and governed the province of Bengal with the utmost justice, died a natural death. As he was a great protector of his subjects, and exceedingly just, the country, by virtue of these qualities, flourished greatly, and the revenue had so much increased that every year he sent two *krors* of rupees to the Emperor; besides which, thirty thousand horse and an immense body of infantry received their pay from him. He also sent thousands of presents to the saints in all parts of the country and cities. The Emperor Muhammad

Shah, and the ministers of the throne, having shut up the path of justice, and stretching out the hand of rapacity upon the subjects, devoted themselves to amassing wealth, which at last all fell to the lot of the enemy, and there was even a deficiency in the fixed revenue of the *khalisa*.

TWENTY-THIRD YEAR OF THE REIGN

Zahiru-d daula 'Azimu-llah Khan, being appointed to the governorship of Malwa, went to the territory of Bhadawar, and having taken five *lacs* of rupees as a contribution from Raj Singh, son of Raja Antrat Singh, raised him to the *masnad* of that principality. He then proceeded to Datia, where he came to an understanding with its chief, and took seven *lacs* of rupees from him in return for the renewal of his *jagirs*. From that he went to Urchha, and spent some days in fighting and squabbling with the Raja. As he acted contrary to the rule of the former governors, who, after securing the satisfaction and alliances of all the Rajas who were the servants of the Emperor, applied themselves to the government of the province, he could not even enter the territory to which he was appointed, through fear of the enemy. He passed some time in quarrelling with these Rajas, and then returned.

Mirza Mannu, son of I'timadu-d daula Kamru-d din Khan, was appointed to the governorship of Ajmir, and he went to that place with two thousand horse. Although the Rajas had acquired great ascendency in that part of the country, so that in the city of Ajmir, where the sepulchre of the Great Khwaja stands, the slaughtering of cows and other practices of Islam were prohibited, yet he stayed there only for one day, and, according to the orders of his father, who had instructed him to act in subordination to Raja Jai Singh, he leased the governorship of the province to him, and returned to Dehli.

When Nizamu-l Mulk Asaf Jah was informed that

his son Nasir Jang had by his firmness obtained great advantages and victories over the enemy, who fled from before his name like a crow before a bow; that Islam had obtained a new lustre; that the allowances of the many officers and soldiers under him were fixed according to each man's worth; and that he had introduced peace and tranquillity among his subjects,—the fire of ambition and of a desire to assist the wretched enemy, which he had always felt, was rekindled in him. Having obtained leave from the Emperor, he marched with great haste towards the Dakhin, and arrived in a very short space of time at the banks of the Nerbadda. As he had but a very little force with him, he received a reinforcement of one thousand horse from Yar Muhammad Khan, who ruled over the greater part of the province of Malwa. Having crossed the river, he stopped for some time in the city of Burhanpur, where a dispute arose between the father and son. At last, the latter, who, independent of being sensible and learned, was very dutiful, and a much better man than his father and ancestors, notwithstanding that he had possessed so much influence and power, voluntarily, out of respect to the rights of his father, resigned all concern in the affairs of government, and sat at the gate of the sacred shrine of saint Zainu-l Mulk, where also the remains of Shah 'Alamgir (Aurangzeb) are interred. As he was a very wise man, had been disgusted with worldly pursuits, and had much regard for works of religion, he withdrew his hand from the pollutions of this world, and attended to the excellences of the next.

Nizamu-l Mulk, who had become old, was so much entangled in the allurements of this unprofitable world, that, although from the time of 'Alamgir to the present he had seen how faithless it had proved to a great number of its followers, yet, through his avarice and ambition, he discouraged his execllent son, and still seeks to injure him, notwithstanding that he must well know the world to be nothing and its votaries nothing.

TARIKH-I NADIRU-Z ZAMANI
OF
KHUSHHAL CHAND

THE author of this work was Khushhal Chand, a writer in the *diwani* office of Dehli, in the time of Muhammad Shah. His father, Jiwan Ram, held various employments in the time of Aurangzeb and Bahadur Shah. He was at first in the service of Ruhu-llah Khan and Bahramand Khan, and when Shaikh 'Atau-llah was appointed intelligencer and *bakhshi* of Lahore, Jiwan Ram was made his *peshkar*. After leaving Lahore, he was appointed deputy superintendent of the *diwani* office at Dehli, and in the time of Bahadur Shah was raised to the rank of 150. As he was a poet, he presented several copies of verses to the Emperor, for which he received a reward of two hundred rupees. He died in the year 1164 A.H.

The eldest son, Khub Chand, succeeded to his father's office, and Khushhal Chand also obtained employment in the *diwani* office, with which he expresses himself well satisfied, "as it enabled him to fulfil the duties of both this world and the next." In compliment to the Emperor under whom he was employed, he calls his work *Tarikh-i Muhammad-Shahi,* to which he gives also the honorific title of *Nadiru-z Zamani,* "the wonder of the world," as it contains, in combination with another word, the date of composition—1152 A.H. (1739-40 A.D.); but the history is carried down a few years later.

The *Nadiru-z Zamani* is divided into two volumes, one called the *Majma'u-l Akhbarat*, the other *Zubdatu-l Akhbarat,* each divided into two books. Independent of the historical matter, the work contains treatises on arithmetic, astrology, palmistry, versification and other irrelevant matters.

The second volume will form the subject of a future

notice.[1] The first, or *Majma'u-l Akhbarat*, is appropriated as below.

CONTENTS

Book I. Account of the wise and religious persons, from the Creation to the time of Muhammad Shah. Ancestors of Muhammad Shah up to 'Umar Shaikh Mirza, father of the Emperor Babar. A brief account of the governments of Arabia, Persia, Turkistan, Turan, Rum, Sham, and Iran, from the era of Kaiumars to the time of Naushirwan. A brief account of the Ghaznivides, Ghorians, Saljukians, and other dynasties.

Book II. History of India from Raja Judishtar's reign to the time of Ibrahim Lodi. Account of some of the most celebrated saints of India, such as Mu'inu-d din Chishti, Kutbu-l Aktab, and others, and of the reformers of the Hindu religion, such as Ramanand, Kabir, Raidas, and Nanak, with a notice of the Shastras and Vedantism.

SIZE.—The first Book contains 331 large 8vo. pages of 19 lines each.

The first volume contains nothing of interest. The only useful part of the work is the history of Muhammad Shah.

The *Nadiru-z Zamani* is very rare. The late *Sadru-s Sudur* of Mainpuri had a perfect copy, which his heirs have lost; and Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan of Jhajjar has a very imperfect copy, deficient in the second books of both volumes. The Nawab of Tonk has the first book. Wilken[2] quotes an Indian History of this name in the Berlin Library, but I cannot trace the quoted passage in the portions of the work available to me.

[1] ["*There is no such notice among the papers, nor any copy of the work in the library.*]

[2] *Mirchondi Historia Gasnevidarum, p.* 264.

JAUHAR-I SAMSAM
OF
MUHAMMAD MUHSIN SADIKI

[THE author of this work, Muhammad Muhsin Sadiki, son of Hanif, was, according to his own statement, enrolled in the corps of *Wala-shahis*. His work extends from the death of Aurangzeb to the departure of Nadir Shah from India on the 7th Safar, 1152 A.H. (9th May, 1739 A.D.). The early part of the work is very brief and summary, and the history really begins with the reign of Farrukh Siyar. It is written in a very ambitious extravagant style, with a great tendency to exaggeration. He tells us, for instance, that Nadir Shah's army considered of "two *lacs* of *Kazalbash* horsemen," and he makes a long and horrible story out of the deposition and murder of Farrukh Siyar. He states that he was induced to write the work at the "earnest entreaty of Shaikh 'Alau-d din, an old and constant associate of *Amiru-l umara* Samsamu-d daula in all his military exploits, who related all the particulars to him, and frequently urged him to compose a connected narrative of them." The work was no doubt named after Samsamu-d daula, who plays a conspicuous part in the history. According to his own statement, our author grew tired of his work, and resolved "not to furnish historical details respecting any more vain-hearted and ambitious princes after he had described the general massacre caused by Nadir; but he was subsequently persuaded by his spiritual instructor, Shah Badr-i 'Alam, to write a tolerably full account of them."

The whole work has been well translated for Sir H. M. Elliot by the late Major Fuller, with the exception of many pages of empty rhetorical flourishes. From that translation this notice has been compiled and the following Extracts have been taken.]

EXTRACTS

(After the death of *Amiru-l umara* Husain 'Ali Khan).

the Emperor Muhammad Shah never came out of the citadel of Dehli except to enjoy the pleasures of an excursion or to amuse himself in field sports. He paid no attention to the administration of the kingdom, which lacked all supreme authority, and through his indolence, unrelieved by any exertion, he fell and came to an end. For water even, notwithstanding its innate purity and excellence, if it remains stagnant anywhere, changes its colour and smell. The Government of the country went so completely out of the grasp of his will that the *faujdars* of every *sarkar* and *chakla*, and the *subadars* of every city and province, who possessed the strong arm of a military force, refused to pay the revenue due on *khalisa* and *jagir* lands. They used to send merely gifts and presents to their lord and master, after the manner of friends and equals, but put the produce of the *jagirs* of the *mansabdars*, and the amount collected from the Imperial domains (*khalisa*), like food easy of digestion, down their own throats. The proud and haughty of every region raised their heads in contumacy, and the rebellious and refractory of every land fixed the bent of their inclinations on revolt and disobedience. Hosts upon hosts of the execrable Mahrattas brought forcibly under their subjection the territory of the Dakhin and the provinces of Gujarat and Malwa, and raised the banner of subjugation to such a pitch as to pillage and lay waste the cities, town, and villages around Agra and Dehli, and to leave the good name and property of none, whether high or low, unmolested. An incursion of the vile forces of the enemy to the outskirts of Dehli and Agra took place regularly every year, and, exclusive of the booty of populous towns, they used to carry off by force and violence forty or fifty *lacs* worth of property from the open country, insomuch that the rumour of the instability of the royal house of Hind, having reached the lords and commons of all quarters of the globe, Nadir of Isfahan invaded it with his trops resembling the waves of the sea, and put all the natives of the

provinces of Kabul, the Panjab and Dehli at once to the sword.

(When Muhammad Shah was in the field against Nadir Shah), Sa'du-d din Khan Bahadur, *darogha* of the sublime artillery, planted an iron fortress as it were all around the royal camp, which was five *parasangs* in circumference, by chaining together the heavy pieces of ordnance (most of which required 500 bullocks for the drawing of their carriages, and some a thousand or more, as well as five or ten elephants to push each gun from behind, exclusive of the people attached to every one, who by their expert contrivances pass it with ease over rugged and difficult places), and the medium and light guns, which exceeded the limit of computation, and were beyond the power of reckoning. . . . .

The heavy shower of arrows, and the hail-storm of bullets, with the violent pelting of their fall, caused the torrent of death to sweep away the fabric of a multitude of living forms, and despatched to the sea of perdition a whole host of the ever-victorious army under the command of *Amiru-l umara* Samsamu-d daula, successful in both worlds. His Majesty, the shadow of the Most High, on learning the frightful news of the superior prowess of the ferocious *Kazalbashis,* was about to despatch a suitable force to the aid and support of that choice favourite at the Court of the Omnipotent; but through Fath Jang Nizamu-l Mulk's opposition, the august and sublime intention was not carried into effect. . . . 'Abdu-l Ma'bud Khan addressed the following remarks to Asaf Jah Nizamu-l Mulk: "The *Amiru-l umara* Khan-dauran Bahadur is so influential a person, that if the evil eye fall on the stability of his army, it will be the cause of dispersion to the leaves of the volume of the State, and a reason of slipping to the feet of resolution among the servants of the Government. Therefore the duty of aiding and supporting such a high-minded and faithful individual is proper and incumbent on all; and from

feelings of generosity and good sense I have an ardent desire for the accomplishment of the task." . . . . As this black night had come out of the darkness of Fath Jang's animosity, in accordance with the will of the Almighty, how could the first blush of the bright dawn of safety and security and the disc of the brilliant sun of victory show its face without the removal of its raven tresses? Fath Jang laid his hand on the arm of the warrior, and did not let it go until by divers arguments he had dissuaded him from his fixed determination; while the latter, the chosen of the Adored, writhed in the depths of anguish, and bit the lip of remorse with the teeth of helplessness.

In consequence of the death of *Amiru-l umara* Samsamu-d daula, the robe of the office of *Mir Bakhshi* was bestowed on Ghaziu-d din Khan, son of Fath-Jang Nizamu-l Mulk. The fire of animosity, that had been somewhat allayed, immediately kindled afresh into flames, because Bahadur Jang Burhanu-l Mulk, from the first dawn of his prosperity till the closing calamity of his career, had entertained the desire of obtaining the dignity of *Amiru-l umara*, and having waited for his opportunity a long time, had kept sowing this wish in the field of his heart.[1] As he had fully expected to have his hopes realized on the death of the late incumbent, he had deemed it expedient to keep on good terms with the Emperor; but on hearing that another had been invested with the coveted robe, he swerved from the path of conciliation, and girded the waist of cunning more tightly than before in hastening along the road of enmity. The image of peace that had been reflected in the glass of exhibition had been changed to war, and the broken chain of friendship was spliced with the cord of contention.

[1]*The metaphor in the original is much more elaborate.*

TAZKIRA
OF
ANAND RAM MUKHLIS

[No account of this book has been found among Sir H. M. Elliot's papers, and there is no copy of the work in his library. The following translation, by "Lt. Perkins," must therefore speak for itself. It was made from a MS. belonging to Nawab Ziau-d din. The author was an eye-witness of much that passed during Nadir Shah's stay in India, and suffered from his exactions. A memorandum on the translation states that it is "not complete," but still the work seems to have been specially devoted to Nadir Shah's invasion. It begins with a chapter headed "History of the wonderful events that came to pass in Hindustan in the year of the Hijra 1151," which contains an account of Nadir Shah's rise and of the beginning of his march towards India. This chapter and a few other passages have been omitted. The last words of the translation have been printed, but there is nothing to indicate whether they end the book or not.]

EXTRACTS

March of the Emperor of Persia to Hindustan, and consequent slaughter and devastation in that beautiful land

Strange events occurred after the capture of Kandahar. Before setting out from Ispahan, Nadir Shah had despatched a messenger, named 'Ali Mardan Khan, to Hindustan, with full powers to arrange with Muhammad Shah, the ruler of the land, certain matters of a nature peculiar to troublous times, and such as it becomes Emperors to settle amicably with one another. Nadir Shah reached Kandahar; but Muhammad Shah, it is probable, broke faith, and did not fulfil his promises, although a second messenger, named Muhammad Khan Turkoman, was sent to him; this messenger moreover never returned. The train had long been laid, and from

these negotiations sprang the spark that fired it. Nadir Shah was moved to anger; he resolved on the invasion of Hindustan; but though the apparent motive has been given above, the true cause was the weakness of its monarchy. Accordingly, on the 8th of Safar, in the twentieth year of Muhammad Shah's reign, A.H. 1150, the Persian Emperor set his face towards Kabul, where he arrived about the end of the month. . . .

The settlement of the conquered territory occupied the Emperor for four months and a half. The march was then continued to Jalalabad, a place famous for its pomegranates, which was reached on the 14th of Sha'ban. Nasir Khan, son of the late Nasir Khan, governor of the province, who during these events had been at Peshawar, moved from this town and occupied a position half-way between 'Ali Masjid and Jamrud, which place is distant nine *kos* from Peshawar, to oppose the invader's progress.

Nasir Khan had often written to Muhammad Shah concerning the want of money, but none of his representations had been attended to. He now wrote to the effect that he himself was but as a rose-bush withered by the blasts of autumn, while his soldiery were no more than a faded pageant, ill-provided and without spirit; he begged that, of the five years' salary due to him, one year's salary might be paid, that he might satisfy his creditor and have some little money at his command. The Nawab Sahib, however, exclaimed before the assembled *diwan*, that he could see no need for all this haste and flurry; "had he not written on the subject to the Emperor and the *Wakalat-panah*, and, if the matter was not settled that day, why it would be so the next?" The *Wakalat-panah*, when he laid the document before the *Amiru-l umara* Bahadur, and told him, with fear and trembling, in the Persian language, what had occurred in Kabul, received an answer which drove him to his wits' end; "Know you not, *Wakalat-panah*," said the personage addressed, "that I am a man of too great

experience to be caught by such stories that are only made up to extort gold? My house is in the plain, and my imagination dwells only on what my eyes have seen. Your house is on a mountain, and perhaps from its summit you have caught a glimpse of the Persian host. Tell your emyloyer that the governor of Bengal has been ordered to remit treasure after the rainy season, and the necessary sums will then be sent to him without delay."

The Afghans of Kabul, particularly those of the Safi tribe, defended the mountain passes, and for a long time checked the advance of the *Kazalbash* invaders. If at that time a well-appointed army, under an experienced leader, had been sent to the support of the mountaineers, it is more than probable that Hindustan would have been saved. As it was, the enemy, ever on the watch to take advantage of any negligence on the part of their opponents, stole a march on the Afghans during the night of the 13th of Sha'ban, entered the Khaibar Pass while the stars still shone above their heads, and, moving with the rapidity of the wind, fell suddenly on the force of Nasir Khan, when a scene of slaughter and plunder ensued. . . . .

Nadir Shah was now in possession of all the country as far as Attock, and Muhammad Shah and his advisers could no longer remain blind to the danger that threatened them. They understood at length that this was no ordinary foe against whom they had to contend, no mere plunderer who would be sated with the spoil of a province and then return to his own country, but a leader of unshakeable resolution, who shaped his course with the sword. If, even at this juncture, the Emperor had sought to conciliate Nawab Sahib A'azzu-d daula Bahadur, *Nazim* of Multan and Lahore, and had supplied this fierce chieftain with the sinews of war as such an emergency required, then indeed might the world have witnessed a very different result. As it was, when the Emperor learned from the news-writers the advance of the Persian army to Attock, he, on the 1st of

the blessed month of Ramazan, appointed Asaf Jah Bahadur *Wakilu-s Saltanat,* I'timadu-d daula Chin Bahadur *Waziru-l Mamalik,* and *Amiru-l umara* Bahadur to be *Bakhshi'u-l Mamalik,* for the defence of the monarchy, and with his own hands bound on the heads of the chiefs a *malaband* of Burhanpur workmanship. That same day these noblemen left the city for their camp, which was pitched near the Shalamar gardens. They received one *kror* of rupees in cash, and cannon and munitions of war in abundance. Besides their own troops, 50,000 horsemen were given to them. Now was the time for these chiefs to have marched without delay, and, acting in concert with the *Nazim* of Multan and Lahore, whose troops amounted to no less than 20,000 bold horsemen, to have advanced to the banks of the Jhelam or Chinab, and have closed the roads and passes against the invader by skilful dispositions and by force of arms. Instead of this, the army remained a whole month encamped near the Shalamar gardens, detained by sundry petty causes which I cannot detail.

Nadir Shah, after Nasir Khan's defeat, had entered Peshawar, where he occupied the residence of the Khan. Having settled the affairs of this district he marched, on the 25th of Ramazan, towards Attock, where the army encamped on the fifth day. The construction of a bridge here caused inevitable delay, but Aka Muhammad was detached with a strong force to devastate the country, and leave no means of destruction untried. A'azzu-d daula might now have displayed the same indifference as his royal master; but, far from this, he drew together a number of troops at vast expense to himself, and on the 17th of Ramazan formed his camp on the banks of the Ravi. Not being at liberty to move forward until joined by the Emperor's army, he contented himself with placing his cannon in the best positions, and throwing up entrenchments round his camp.

On the 4th of Shawwal the Persian army crossed the

Attock river on a bridge of boats. On the 8th the Emperor reached the left bank of the Chinab river, and on the 9th encamped close to the bridge of Shah-daula.[1]

But how to relate the ruin and desolation that overwhelmed this beautiful country Wazirabad, Imanabad, and Gujarat, towns which, for population, might almost be called cities, were levelled with the earth. Nothing was respected, no sort of violence remained unpractised; property of all kinds became the spoil of the plunderer, and women the prey of the ravisher.

On the 10th of Shawwal the Shah and his army crossed the bridge of Shah-daula; then, leaving far to the left the artillery of the *Nazim*, which was in position along the opposite bank of the Ravi, they forded the river and advanced to the Shalamar gardens, which are on the high road to Shah-Jahanabad. All that day, from morn till night, the contest was maintained against the army of the *Nazim*, who repeatedly tried to force his way back to the town. The bravest warriors put forth their strength and many of the *Kazalbashis* fell. Yahya Khan, the eldest son of the *Nazim*, cut his way through with a few followers, and proceeding towards Shah-Jahanabad by forced marches, reached the camp of Nawab Sahib *Waziru-l Mamalik Bahadur* in the vicinity of Panipat. The fighting was renewed on the 11th, and the plain was strewed with the slain.

Both armies were now worn out with the struggle, and it was found advisable to make terms. On the 12th, *Nazim* was met by the illustrious Wazir 'Abdu-l Baki, and conducted into the presence of the Shah, the greatest honour and respect being shown him. He was courteously received and presented with a *chapkan* of gold brocade, a jwelled dagger and a horse. The *Nazim* again repaired to the presence of the Shah on the 14th, and paid, by way of offering, a sum of twenty *lacs* of rupees, a portion

[1] *A most wonderful march!*

of which had been taken from the state coffers, and the remainder contributed by the wealthiest inhabitants. He then departed in all honour. By this payment Lahore was saved from horrors among which death and spoliation were the least. The Shah, who was full of kindness for the *Nazim* (A'azzu-d daula), took into his service his second son, Hayatu-llah Khan Bahadur, and appointed him to the command of five hundred horse.

On the 15th of the month the Shah continued his march towards Shah-Jahanabad. He advanced rapidly. Leaving his camp equipage at Shahabad, on the 15th of Zi-l ka'da he appeared in the neighbourhood of Karnal, where Muhammad Shah's army awaited his coming. But it is now time to return to Muhammad Shah, lest the thread of the narrative should be broken.

Muhammad Shah leaves the Capital

It has already been shown how Asaf Jah Bahadur, *Waziru-l mamalik Bahadur* and *Amiru-l Umara Bahadur*, the officers to whom had been entrusted the responsibility of leading an army against the Persian invaders, remained for a whole month encamped near the Shalamar gardens. When tidings came that Nadir Shah had reached the banks of the Attock river, the commanders urged upon the Emperor the necessity of his joining them in person, and, with one accord, they moved forward in the early days of Shawwal. The author himself, Anand Ram, accompanied by his beloved sons Rai Kripa Ram and Salah Fath Singh, left the capital on the 11th of the month, in the service of *Nawab Sahib Waziru-l Mamalik Bahadur*. When the army reached Panipat, the author obtained leave to revisit his home, where some private affairs required his presence. Starting on the 17th, he reached Shah-Jahanabad on the evening of the 20th.

On the 18th of the month Muhammad Shah, and the illustrious Prince Ahmad issued from the citadel (*ark*), the royal residence, and encamped near Muhammad

Ganj. The royal camp reached Panipat on the 27th, when the commanders paid their respects to His Majesty, and made offerings suited to their rank.

Near Karnal flows through a broad plain a canal which issues from the Jumna river, near Mukhlispur, and continues its course to Shah-Jahanabad. This place was found convenient for the encampment of the army. By degrees news was received of the progress of the enemy. It was therefore resolved to advance no further, but to take advantage of the abundant supply of water, so necessary to the soldier, and fight to the last. The *Mir-atish* was instructed to construct an earthen wall around the camp; behind this the artillery was placed in position; and brave men were told off for the defence of the intrenchments. In fact, nothing was omitted that could conduce to the strength of the camp. This disposition, which could hardly be considered worthy of an Emperor, was adopted partly to await the arrival of *Burhanu-l Mulk Bahadur, Nazim* of Oudh, who had been ordered to join the royal army. This nobleman, though suffering from sickness, advanced by forced marches at the head of 30,000 horsemen, and reached Karnal on the 14th of Zi-l ka'da. This addition to the strength of the army created universal joy, and all now thought victory certain.

Battle between the Persians and the Mughals

Burhanu-l Mulk, after his interview with His Majesty on the 14th, the day of his arrival, had been dismissed to his own tents. News was at this time brought to him that a Persian force had fallen upon his baggage, which was coming up in the rear from Panipat, and had plundered it, and committed great slaughter. Burhanu-l Mulk, with headlong impetuosity, misplaced in a commander, flew to the scene of action, accompanied only by the few horsemen who were with him, without taking time to collect his artillery, or to form his men in any kind of order. Soon he was engaged in the thick

of the fight, nor did he desist from his efforts until he had scattered the Persians. The latter, experienced in every kind of stratagem, the acquiring of which indeed forms part of the soldier's training, fled in apparent confusion, followed by the *Nazim*, who was thus led into an ambush where stood the Persian advanced guard with a powerful artillery. The armies engaged, and the shouts of the combatants and the clashing of sabres ascended to the heavens.

Muhammad Shah, hearing of what was going on, ordered *Amiru-l umara* to reinforce the *Nazim*. The *Amir* represented that the army had not expected a fight that day, and that the soldiers were consequently quite unprepared; reinforcements could but add to the severity of the defeat. It was far better to delay a battle until the morrow, when the army could be disposed according to the rules of war, with advanced and rear guards, and their artillery, on which everything depended in Indian warfare, could be placed in the front.[2] The struggle would then be one of comparative ease, and a little skill would insure an easy victory. The monarch was displeased with these objections, and addressed the *Amir* as a "conceited idler." But *Amiru-l umara* Bahadur was a chieftain who had the good of his master at heart; never had he been guilty of aught like disobedience, and now, arming himself and mounting an elephant, he gathered round him Muzaffar Khan Bahadur and a few horsemen, all that could be collected in that hour of bewilderment, and hastened to the support of the *Nazim*. The struggle raged so fiercely that firearms and arrows were put aside, and swords and daggers were brought into play. Blood flowed from gaping wounds and crimsoned the combatants; the red *Kazalbash* caps had the appearance of poppies; a dense smoke hung over the field of battle.

[2]["*It is probable that if the army of Hindustan had been fully provided with artillery, the Persians would not have been able to oppose it.*"—*Bayan-i Waki.*]

The heroic efforts of *Amiru-l umara* and his prodigies of valour could not prevail against the Persians, who far exceeded the Indians in number, and had, moreover, the advantage of having been placed in position by the Shah himself. The Mughals broke at length and fled; but *Amiru-l umara* maintained the combat until, mortally wounded in the face, he fell covered with glory. His brother, Muzaffar Khan, his son Muhtaram Khan, Ali Hamid Khan his *koka,* and some others stood by him to the last. Burhanu-l Mulk and Nisar Muhammad Khan Bahadur became prisoners. The remainder of the followers of *Amiru-l umara,* headed by Rai Majlis Rai *Mir-saman,* closed round their master's elephant, resolved to extricate him or to perish. They reached the *Amir's* tents by evening. This nobleman's wounds were mortal, and he lived but one day longer. God have mercy on him! By his decease, Asaf Jah Bahadur became *Mir-bakhshi.* Officers were sent by the Emperor's order to seize the property of the late nobleman, which it would have been more generous to leave to the heirs.

Had the Emperor himself led his powerful army to the support of Burhanu-l Mulk, there would have been no cause to lament the loss of such a *sardar* as *Amiru-l umara;* and who can say that victory might not have smiled on his arms?

The consequences of this disaster were lamentable; for the loss of baggage and the great scarcity of supplies that soon prevailed (four rupees could hardly purchase a *sir* of flour) totally deprived the soldiery of the little spirit they ever possessed. The Persian Emperor sent a message offering to treat for peace; for though so powerful, he was not one to overlook the advantages of negotiation.[3] *Waziru-l mamalik* Asaf Jah was opposed to the

[3] ["*The Persian were alarmed at what they had seen of the fighting and bravery displayed by the soldiers of Hindustan, who had resisted the balls from jazails by arrows from bows; and they thought, that if, notwith-*

proposition; but his arguments did not prevail on the Emperor. On the 16th of the month Asaf Jah Bahadur and 'Azimu-llah Khan Bahadur were deputed to the Shah, to conclude the negotiations; they returned to camp that evening.

The next day Muhammad Shah repaired in person to the Persian camp. The monarch took with him a small escort. 'Umdatu-l Mulk Amir Khan Bahadur, Mu'tamadu-d daula Muhammad Is'hak Khan Bahadur, Bihroz Khan, and Jawed Khan, were among the number. Nasru-llah Mirza, the Shah's son, received His Majesty at the limits of the camp. When they drew near, the Shah himself came forth, and the etiquette usual between the Persian and Mughal courts was faithfully observed. The two monarchs, holding one another by the hand, entered the audience-tents, and seated themselves side by side on a *masnad*. It was as if two suns had risen in the East, or as if two bright moons shed their light at one time! As Muhammad Shah was unaccompanied by any one of his chiefs, the subject of conversation between the two Emperors has remained unknown. After this had lasted some time, a repast was prepared, the remains of which were given to Amir Khan Bahadur and the other noblemen. Nothing that courtesy and friendship require was omitted during the whole conference, which lasted a quarter of the day, and Muhammad Shah regained his camp about the third quarter of the day. These proceedings restored tranquillity to the minds of the soldiery; all looked forward with joy to renewed plenty, to a return to their beloved Shah-Jahanabad and the society of friends; but fate smiled at these fond hopes, for more suffering, more bloodshed awaited them.

The author has already related how he obtained

standing the want of artillery, the Indians had shown so much courage, what would they do now that the Emperor with all his artillery was ready for action."—Bayan-i Waki.]

leavé to visit Shah-Jahanabad, and left the army for this purpose when it had reached Panipat. The Emperor had taken his departure from the town the day before the writer reached it. Strange to relate, numbers of people of every degree followed the royal standards. Some thought thus to enjoy a pleasant excursion through the Panjab, while others were of opinion that a battle would be fought and won in the neighbourhood of the town, and that their absence would only be of short duration. The writer sought in vain for a house within the walls in which to place his wife and family; he could find no suitable one. Under these circumstances, he resolved to leave his family in their usual residence outside the town. The security of the entrances to the lane was looked to, and armed servants above the ordinary number were entertained. The author now prepared to return to the army, and sent on his advanced tents.

But just at this time a report spread through the city of the death of *Amiru-l umara* and the capture of Burhanu-l Mulk. Many were the false reports circulated, which there is no need to record here, and such was the state of the town that, but for the vigilance of Kotwal Haji Fulad Khan, it must have been plundered, and the Persian army would have found the work done. The *kotwal*, no ordinary man, was at his post day and night; his exertions were unceasing, and, wherever there was an appearance of sedition, he seized and punished the guilty parties. The roads were infested with malefactors, and there was safety for none.

Having received certain tidings of the Persians having formed a circle around the royal army, and rendered ingress to the camp impossible, the author was compelled to relinquish his design of proceeding thither. He therefore turned his attention to his means of defence. Sentries were placed, and the *darogha* and the writer himself patrolled the *bazars* at night to collect news. A supply of lead, powder, and rockets was laid in, and distributed among the people of the quarter, who began

to take heart. Thus the nights were spent in watching, and the days in the society of friends. This state of things continued until the arrival of Burhanu-l Mulk Bahadur and Tahmasp Khan Jalair, the latter the representative of the Persian Shah.

Muhammad Shah's second visit to the Shah: Entry of the two monarchs into Shah-Jahanabad

The result of Muhammad Shah's visit to the Persian Emperor has been seen. Some days later, on the 24th of the month, Asaf Jah was deputed to finally settle sundry matters; but, through some unknown cause, this personage failed in his mission, and was detained in the camp. Muhammad Shah himself, neglecting the remonstrances of a few well-wishers who advised a further appeal to arms, then paid a second visit to the Persian Emperor on the 26th. Muhammad Shah, as a result of this interview, found it advisable to continue in the Persian camp, and ordered a part of the royal camp equipage to be brought. This was accordingly done. By degrees all the chief nobles of the State joined His Majesty. To all appearance they acted according to their inclination, but in truth under compulsion. *Nasakchis* were ordered to be in attendance on them; these in reality were but spies on their actions. How strange are the freaks of fortune! Here was an army of 100,000 bold and well-equipped horsemen, held as it were in captivity, and all the resources of the Emperor and his grandees at the disposal of the *Kazalbash*! The Mughal monarchy appeared to all to be at an end.

A proclamation was issued to the army that all might depart who chose, as His Majesty himself was about to return to Shah-Jahanabad. The soldiers and camp followers now departed in crowds, and, with the exception of the chief dignitaries, and a few of lesser rank, who would have thought it a crime to abandon their master at such a time, the Emperor remained alone. Tahmasp

Khan Jalar *Wakilu-s Saltanat,* Burhanu-l Mulk Bahadur, and 'Azimu-llah Khan Bahadur, were sent in advance by the Shah to have the fort prepared for his reception, and to settle various other matters.

When the Shah's camp equipage arrived from Shahabad, the two Emperors set out. They made the journey seated together on an elevated car. Muhammad Shah entered the citadel (*ark*) of Shah-Jahanabad in great pomp on the 8th of Zi-l hijja, seated in his car; the conqueror followed on the 9th mounted on a horse. By a strange cast of the dice two monarches, who, but a short while before, found the limits of an empire too narrow to contain them both, were now dwellers within the same four walls!

The next day Nadir Shah returned the Indian ruler's visit, and accepted the presents offered by the latter. When the Shah departed, towards the close of the day, a false rumour was spread through the town that he had been severely wounded by a shot from a matchlock,[1] and thus were sown the seeds from which murder and rapine were to spring. The bad characters within the town collected in great bodies, and, without distinction, commenced the work of plunder and destruction. A discharge of firearms and other missiles was continued throughout the night. The darkness of the night and the difficulty of recognizing friend or foe were the cause of numbers of the *Kazalbashis* being slain in the narrow lanes of the town. Scarce a spot but was stained with their blood.

On the morning of the 11th an order went forth from the Persian Emperor for the slaughter of the inhabitants. The result may be imagined; one moment seemed to have sufficed for universal destruction. The *Chandni chauk,* the fruit market, the *Daribah bazar,* and the buildings around the *Masjid-i Jama'* were set fire to and

[1] ["*Discharged by one of the female guards of the Imperial harem.*"—*Jauhar-i Samsam.*]

reduced to ashes. The inhabitants, one and all, were slaughtered. Here and there some opposition was offered, but in most places people were butchered unresistingly. The Persians laid violent hands on everything and everybody; cloth, jewels, dishes of gold and silver, were acceptable spoil.

The author beheld these horrors from his mansion situated in the *Wakilpura Muhalla* outside the city, resolved to fight to the last if necessary, and with the help of God to fall at least with honour.[5] But, the Lord be praised, the work of destruction did not extend beyond the above-named parts of the capital. Since the days of Hazrat Sahib-kiran Amir Timur, who captured Dehli and ordered the inhabitants to be massacred, up to the present time, A.H. 1151, a period of 348 years, the capital had been free from such visitations. The ruin in which its beautiful streets and buildings were now involved was such that the labour of years could alone restore the town to its former state of grandeur.

But to return to the miserable inhabitants. The massacre lasted half the day, when the Persian Emperor ordered Haji Fulad Khan, the *kotwal*, to proceed through the streets accompanied by a body of Persian *nasakchis*, and proclaim an order for the soldiers to resist from carnage.[6] By degrees the violence of the flames subsided, but the bloodshed, the devastation, and the ruin of families were irreparable. For a long time the streets remained strewn with corpses, as the walks of a garden with dead flowers and leaves. The town was reduced to ashes. and had the appearance of a plain consumed with fire. All the regal jewels and property and the contents of the treasury were seized by the Persian conqueror in

[5]*What concerns the author alone has been a good deal abbreviated from the text.*

[6]["*Upon the solicitations of His Majesty Muhammad Shah, they ceascd shedding the blood of the innocent.*" —*Bayan-i Waki..*]

the citadel. He thus became possessed of treasure to the amount of sixty *lacs* of rupees and several thousand *ashrafis;* plate of gold to the value of one *kror* of rupees, and the jewels, many of which were unrivalled in beauty by any in the world, were valued at about fifty *krors.* The peacock throne[7] alone, constructed at great pains in the reign of Shah Jahan, had cost one *kror* of rupees. Elephants, horses, and precious stuffs, whatever pleased the conqueror's eye, more indeed than can be enumerated, became his spoil. In short, the accumulated wealth of 348 years changed masters in a moment.

Nawab Sahib Waziru-l mamalik contributed thirty *lacs* of rupees, besides elephants and his most valuable jewels. Nawab Asaf Jah also suffered an equal loss. The property of Burhanu-l Mulk, who had died shortly after the arrival of the Persians, was likewise seized. It amounted to about a *kror* of rupees, and had been brought from Oudh.

On the 26th of Zi-l hijja was celebrated, with great pomp, the marriage of Nasir Mirza, son of the Persian Emperor, to a daughter of Murad Bakhsh, third son of his late Majesty Shah Jahan. The ruler of Hindustan presented the bridegroom with a dress of honour, a necklace of pearls, a *jighah* and a dagger set with pearls, and an elephant with trappings of gold.

On the 1st of Muharram, A.H. 1152 (30th March, 1739), writers were appointed to levy ransom from the inhabitants under the orders of Tahmasp Khan *Wakilu-s Saltanat,* and lay it before the Shah; but, in order that the inhabitants might not be completely ruined, nobles of both States were directed to superintend the settlement

[7]["*His Majesty bestowed on Nadir Shah, with his own munificent hand, as a parting present, the Peacock throne, in which was set a ruby upwards of a girih (three fingers' breadth) in width, and nearly two in length, which was commonly called khiraj-i alam, "tribute of the world."—Jauhar-i Samsam.*]

of the ransom in the hall of justice, where all might be spectators. The town now offered a strange spectacle. Emissaries of the *kotwal* and Persian *nasakchis* wandered from house to house and from street to street, to take inventories of the property, and enforce the appearance of the citizens, so that the sum to be contributed by each individual might be fixed according to his means. It was the wish of the Shah that the towns people should be preserved from violence and treated with lenity. . . Unoffending people, high and low, rich and poor, were compelled day after day to appear in the hall of justice, where they were kept from morn till night, often later, and then departed, speculating in their wretchedness on what the morrow might bring forth, and wondering to find themselves still alive. Mir Waris and Khwaja Rahmatu-llah openly, and two other persons in secret, had conspired to effect their destruction, and acted as delators. Without ever arriving at the truth, their calumnies were accepted as such. They forgot that they would reap what they sowed, feared neither God nor man, and maltreated the people.

The inventory was now ready. It appeared from this that the contributions of the capital would amount to two *krors*. The Shah, therefore, appointed Asaf Jah, *Waziru-l mamalik*, 'Azimullah Khan, Sarbuland Khan, Mubarizu-l Mulk, and Murtaza Khan to collect the money. Five divisions were made of all the city, and lists of the different *muhallas*, with their inhabitants, and the contributions to be levied from each were prepared and given to the above-named *amirs*.

Now commenced the work of spoliation, watered by the tears of the people. By Nawab Asaf Jah Bahadur and Nawab Sahib *Waziru-l mamalik*, but especially by the latter, who contributed a great part of the money himself, the collections were made in the most humane manner; but where the other three noblemen presided, and more particularly in the division of Mubarizu-l

Mamalik, the sufferings of the citizens knew no bounds. Not only was their money taken, but whole families were ruined. Many swallowed poison, and others ended their woes with the stab of a knife. The author, whose house was in the division alotted to Mubarizu-l Mamalik, endured great persecution.[8]

Compact made by Muhammad Shah with Nadir Shah

At a former epoch, the Monarch of the Universe and Emperor of Emperors, the Asylum of Islam, whose throne is that of Alexander, and whose court the heavens, the most noble and exalted sovereign, Nadir Shah (may his kingdom endure for ever!), found it necessary to send ambassadors to transact certain affairs with the officials of this suppliant in the court of heaven.[9] We, at that time, consented to all the demands made of us; but when, at a subsequent period, Muhammad Khan Turkoman was deputed from Kandahar to recall these matters to our memory, the officers charged with the administration of this realm failed to comply with the demands of the great Emperor, and thus sowed the seeds of contention. At length the Persian army crossed the frontiers of Hindustan, and the forces of the two monarchies met in battle on the plains of Karnal. A great victory signalized the prowess of the Persian warriors. But as the illustrious Emperor, the head of the Turkoman tribes, and fount of manly virtues, treated us with kindness, we felt honoured by his friendship, which made our court the envy of Iran, and proceeded in his company to Shah-Jahanabad, where we offered for his acceptance all the treasures, jewels, and precious things of Hind. The great Emperor, complying with our request, placed a portion of our offerings within the circle of his acceptance, and, moved by the feelings of friendship,

[8] *I have here omitted* 16 *pages, which relate solely to the author's sufferings. Five lacs were extorted from him.*

[9] *Muhammad Shah.*

natural to the similarity of our origin and position, and by a just consideration of the favour due by a Turkoman to a descendant of the Gurganis, gave into our charge the crown and seals of the realm of Hindustan. In return for this liberality, surpassing indeed the kindness of a father to his son, or of brother to brother, all the countries about Sind, westward of the rivers Attock and Sind, and of the Sanjar stream, which flows from the latter, namely: Peshawar, Bangashat, the country of Kabul, Ghaznin and the Kohistan, Hazarat, the fortress of Bhakkar and Sakkar, Khudabad and Layagaon, the Derajat with the Buluch and other populations, the province of Thatta, the fortress of Rahima, the city of Badin, the *parganas* of Chun, Samwal, Kehran, and all other *parganas* dependent on the harbours, with all forts, villages and cultivated lands. *parganas* and ports from the source of the river Attock, the Bakarnachak pass, and the numerous branches of the river near Thatta, to where the river Sind and the Sind and Singarh rivulets flow into the ocean; together with whatever of any kind is the produce of lands watered by the river Attock and its branches, and that may lie westward of the river Sind and the Singarh rivulet; all these have we detached from our dominions, and annexed to those of Persia. Henceforth the officers of that powerful State shall collect the revenue and exercise all authority in the aforesaid countries, and the people, great and small, dwellers in towns and in plains, tillers of the soil, men of every degree, shall be subject to their laws, and the ministers of this eternal government shall no longer have sway among them. But the fortress of Dawar, the cities of Tuhari and Bindrawach, and all the countries estward of the rivers Attock and Sind and the Singarh rivulet, these remain attached to the kingdom of Hind.

Muhammad Shah's third visit to the Sovereign of Persia, and departure of the latter

On the 29th of Muharram the glory of the realms of

Hind proceeded to partake of an entertainment given by the ruler of Iran. A quarter of the day passed in rejoicings. A hundred and one pieces of cloth, within which were precious objects from foreign countries, and several trays of jewels, offered by the Shah, were accepted by the royal visitor, who then took his departure. All the nobles in the regal suite, to the number of nearly one hundred, received presents suited to their rank. This festival was not without its object, for the Shah had resolved to return to his own dominions. This was as yet secret, but on the 6th of Safar the *Mulla-bashi*, standing at the door of his august master's residence, with a loud voice made the following proclamation:—

"Soldiers, the King of Kings and Lord of beneficence, our master, the protector of the world, conquered the country of Hindustan and restored it. To-morrow our victorious banners move towards 'Irak. Be you prepared!"

On the morrow the Shah rode forth from the citadel, and pitched his camp near the Shalamar gardens, five *kos* from the town, and once more the government of Hindustan developed on Muhammad Shah. On the 8th of the month 'Abdul Baki Khan, and Hayatu-llah Khan, son of the *Nawab Nazim* A'azzu-d daula, were sent to Lahore with an order directing the latter to collect and forward a contribution of one *kror* of rupees. The messengers, travelling with rapidity, reached Lahore on the 21st of the same month. They were met by the *Nawab Nazim* in the Shalamar gardens. Hence they continued their way in company to the city. The illustrious messenger here met with the kindest and most courteous reception, and the friendship already existing between the noble entertainer and his guest was much increased. Through the exertions of Kifayat Khan the demand for a *kror* of rupees was modified, and a sum of twenty *lacs* taken in addition to the former contribution.[10]

[10] *This passage is doubtful.*

Tidings having been brought of the Shah's arrival at Chakgard, a place thirty *kos* from Lahore, on the banks of the Ravi, across which a bridge of boats had been formed, the *Nawab Sahib Nazim* and 'Abdu-l Baki Khan set out to meet His Persian Majesty on the 27th of Safar. On the 3rd of Rabiu-l awwal, the monarch crossed the river at the above-named spot, and formed his camp on the right bank. The *Nawab Nazim* and his companion entered the camp that same day, and were admitted to the presence. The *Nazim* met with great courtesy, and was honoured with several presents; besides these the Shah conferred on him the *farman* of the *Nizamat* of Multan (Saifu-d daula Bahadur, the late *Nazim,* was dead), to which His Majesty had caused to be affixed the seal of Muhammad Shah. Dresses of honour and Arabian horses were given to Khwaja 'Abdu-llah Khan, second son of the late Saifu-d daula, to Khwaja Hayatu-llah Khan, and to the other chiefs in the *Nazim's* suite. . .

On the 9th of Rabi'u-l awwal the Shah's camp was at Kaluwal, a village on the banks of the Chinab, the largest river of the Panjab. A heavy fall of rain, such as is usual in the rainy season, had occurred the previous night, and the bridge had been broken, some of the boats being swamped, and others knocked to pieces. The river's width had so increased that it was impossible to reconstruct a bridge at this point, but a narrower part was found near the village of Akhanur, where a bridge was formed by means of iron cables. On the 11th the *Nazim* received fresh proofs of the Shah's generosity.

The Persian camp broke up from Kaluwal on the 14th, and commenced crossing the river at Akhanur. A portion of the army had affected its passage, when the force of the swollen and pent-up stream carried away the bridge with a deafening roar, and hurled two thousand *Kazalbashis* into a watery grave. But as the Shah was anxious to cross the river, he proceeded him-

self, mounted on Maha-sundar, the powerful elephant that had been bestowed on the *Nawab Nazim*, in scarch of a ford, or some spot suited to the formation of a bridge. However, it is vain to struggle against destiny, and His Majesty failed in the object of his search; and it was consequently decided that the army should be ferried over in boats at Kaluwal. The camp was therefore moved on the 25th, and the passage was commenced. By the 2nd Rabi'u-s sani, three quarters of the army and baggage had been landed on the opposite bank, and on the following day the *Nazim* was permitted to depart, his own sword being returned to him, and his elephant to Hayatullah. The *Nazim* and his son reached Sialkot the same day. The Persian Emperor, who entertained a great affection for the *Nawab Nazim*, directed an epistle to be prepared and forwarded to the ruler of Hind, desiring His Majesty to increase the allowances and the body of horse of this chieftain from seven to eight thousand. The districts of Gujarat, Sialkot, Pursarur, and Aurangabad, from which was derived the expenditure of Kabul and Peshwar; also Dangali and other places, producing about four *krors* of *dams*, and constituting the *jagir* of Nasir Khan, *Nazim* of Kabul; some districts forming the *zamindaris* of Khuda-yar Khan 'Abbasi, and of Ghazi Khan Dudahi, *zamindar of* Multan, all of which are east of the Attock river, and had been for years made over to Nadir Shah, these were now placed under the charge of the *Nazim*, subject to a yearly payment of twenty *lacs* of rupees. The *Nazim* was at first loath to enter into this arrangement, but several considerations induced him. The chief of these was that if this matter were not thus settled, the Shah would leave an army in the country, which would be the cause of numerous evils. On the 7th of the month the Shah himself crossed the river, and encamped on the right bank, the move being made known to all by discharges of cannon.

The Shah felt the greatest anxiety to reach Khurasan,

where his presence was urgently required to put a stop to disturbances that had broken out in Bukhara and Khwarizm, for the rulers of these countries, blinded with pride and ignorance, had withdrawn their necks from the yoke of subjection. Proceeding without a halt, the Shah crossed the river Attock on the 21st of Jumada-s sani, and on the 25th of Sha'ban cast his shadow over the country of Kabul. Hence he marched by way of Darah Isma'il Hut to correct Khuda-yar Khan 'Abbasi. *zamindar* of Khudabad. Having made Hut and Ghazi Khan Dudahi obedient, he remained some time in the government of Bhakkar.

Before leaving Kabul, the Nawab Sahib A'azzu-d daula and Hayatu-llah Khan Bahadur, who governed the province of Multan as his father's deputy, had been directed to join the Shah whenever his army should enter the territories of Khuda-yar Khan, and to assist in settling the affairs of that district. Hayatu-llah Khan lost no time in joining the Shah and the *Nazim*, starting on the 26th of Shawwal from the fortress of Jamun, which had fallen to his arms only a few days before, passed one night at Lahore. On the 23rd of Zi-l hijja he left Multan to proceed towards the Persian camp by water.

Copy of the Shah's Letter above mentioned

To the exalted and most noble of Khans, the illustrious Zakariya Khan, *Nazim* of the provinces of Lahore and Multan, with assurances of our warmest friendship, be it known that, whereas His Majesty has resolved to make a tour this year through the country of Sind, in order to chastise certain rebellious chieftains in those parts, and whereas it is deemed probable that one or more of these chiefs may attempt to fly towards Multan, which would render it necessary for the conquering army to cross the river Sind, to pursue and capture the fugitives; and whereas between this powerful government and that of Hindustan there exists perfect concord, it is necessary that the illustrious *Nazim* should be

prepared to move from Lahore towards Multan on receiving an order to this effect, and with his troops guard the approaches to this city, that those who may cross the river may be punished, and such energy displayed for this purpose as may render unnecessary the co-operation of the royal forces. In addition the Khan may rest assured of the kindly feelings of the Emperor of Emperors towards him, and may expect everything from his generosity. Written on the 21st of Jumada-s sani, A.H. 1152.

Entry of Nadir Shah into the territories of Khuda-yar Khan

Of all the frontier-chiefs none equalled Khuda-yar Khan in the extent of their possessions, the number of their soldiers, and the fertility of their resources. When first Nadir Shah arrived under the walls of Kandahar, this chieftain formed vain schemes of checking the advance of the victorious army and holding the passes, thus, as if impelled by fatality, making an enemy to himself of a monarch favoured by fortune, whose sword, like the orb of light, had flashed over the world from east to west. Now, that the tidings of the Shah's advance broke upon his dream of fancied security, he left his son in command of his troops, and himself, with his women and wealth, withdrew into the fortress of Amarkot, a strong place, surrounded on two sides by water and on the other two by sand-hills.

When the Shah's army drew near, the son gave up all idea of fighting, and prepared to do homage to the Emperor on condition that his father should not be required to appear; but these terms were not acceded to, and the foolish youth was kept prisoner. The Shah again moved rapidly forward to lay siege to Amarkot, and the news of this advance shook, as if with the shock of an earthquake, the warlike resolve of Khuda-yar Khan. He immediately sent away his women and his property to the sandy country, but stayed behind him-

self to make arrangements for the removal of twenty-two *lacs* of rupees, for which carriage had not been procurable, and determined to follow on the morrow.

But the morrow brought forth unexpected events, for the Shah, learning that the game might still be secured by a bold cast of the net, pushed forward from Ladgaon, distant from Amarkot thirty *farsakhs*, on the evening of the 28th of Zi-l ka'da, and suddenly surrounded the fort about daybreak on the following morning. Immediately the soldiery commenced the work of destruction. Khuda-yar Khan, seeing no path open to escape, came forth with cries for mercy, and did homage; and this course, which he should have before adopted, proved his salvation. The Shah, mindful of the maxim that there are more joys in forgiving than in punishing, received him with kindness, and forgave his faults. The twenty-two *lacs* found in the fort and some jewels were seized by the Emperor's officers, and the Shah returned to Ladgaon, where the camp equipage had been left, and where were discussed the affairs of Khuda-yar Khan, who had accompanied His Majesty since his surrender.

About two hours before the close of day His Majesty received A'azzu-d daula in the royal audience tent. This nobleman was treated with even more than former courtesy, and the Emperor graciously observed that he must have been put to much inconvenience in so long a journey. On the 7th the Nawab Nazim received tokens of the esteem in which he was held by the Shah. . .

Khuda-yar Khan 'Abbasi, since his submission, had remained in the royal camp. The monarch now, with kingly munificence, raised him from the dust and re-established him in possession of his *zamindari*, with the title of Shah Kuli Khan, and the government of the province of Thatta. The conditions of this arrangement were an annual payment of ten *lacs* of rupees and the furnishing to the Persian monarch of a contingent of

two thousand horse under one of the Khan's sons. The Khan, who might have expected a very different treatment as the result of his conduct, was dismissed with the present of a horse to his home on the 15th of Muharram, A.H. 1152 (12th April, 1739 A.D.).

Nadir Shah, having finally settled the affairs of Hindustan, resolved to set his face towards the country of Khurasan, where frequent disturbances occurred, acting as a thorn in his side.

NADIR-NAMA
OF
MIRZA MUHAMMAD MAHDI

This history is the production of Mirza Muhammad Mahdi of Mazandaran, who attended Nadir Shah as confidential secretary in all his military expeditions. The character of this detailed history is generally eulogistic; but as the author survived his master, and has not omitted to recount the mad actions committed by Nadir Shah in the latter period of his life, faith may be gradually placed in his relation of the events of this period. The *Nadir-nama* was translated into French by Sir W. Jones at the desire of the King of Denmark, and is therefore well known to European students. Another name which this work bears is *Tarikh-i Jahan-kushai*, but as that name is generally appropriated to the valuable history of the Mughals by 'Alau-d din Malik 'Ata Malik Juwaini, it will save confusion not to give the title to the *Nadir-nama*.

The life of Nadir by Fraser, who availed himself of contemporary records in India, and the works of Jonas Hanway, afford the English reader all the information he can desire on the subject of this tyrant.

SIZE—8vo., 688 pages of 15 lines each.

TAHMASP-NAMA
OF
MISKIN

This is an autobiographical piece giving an interesting account of several occurrences during the downfall of the Empire. It bears very much the character as the *Bayan-i Waki'*, of 'Abdu-l Karim. The author is careless about dates, but they can easily be supplied by the light which other historians, European and Asiatic, shed upon the transactions he records. There seems reason to suppose that the author's name was Tahmasp, to which he added the literary name of Miskin. The text, however, is not very plain on this subject. The title of the work may perhaps be derived from the name assumed by Nadir Shah on his entering the service of Shah Tahmasp.

SIZE—Large 8vo., 314 pages of 17 lines each.

BAHRU-T TAWARIKH

This unique, but worthless, "Sea of Histories," comprises accounts of the Asiatic monarchies. The volume is an autograph, in the library of the Nawab of Tonk, with many marginal notes, also apparently in the handwriting of the author, containing some additional information on the meagre histories in the text.

As the preface to the first book is not contained within this volume, we are left in ignorance of the author's name, object and authorities. He was most probably an Indian, as he deals at disproportionate length with the History of India, which, however, is carried down only to the reign of Jahangir. It is evident that the volume is imperfect in this portion, and that all that follows in the book, as at present bound, originally belonged to the first volume, which begins just as the second volume closes, with an imperfect sentence. From his history of the Emperors of Turkey, it appears that

the author visited Mecca on a pilgrimage in the year 1160 A.H. (1747 A.D.), which is all that we learn of him in the course of the work. As the second book contains a short preface, which was wanting in the first, the ignorant binder has given it the precedence, and thus transposed the proper order.

From this preface we learn that the second book was commenced in the year 1099 A.H. (1687-8), a date which might be open to doubt, were it not twice repeated in the preface, in which also several other corresponding dates are given confirmative of this. The work is, nevertheless, carried down beyond the time of Nadir Shah's invasion of India, and the date of 1154 A.H. (1741 A.D.) is twice distinctly quoted towards the end. These passages as well as the marginal notes, may have been added by some other hand, but there is an appearance of uniformity about the work which does not appear to warrant this inference, and we are therefore led to the conclusion, that the author lived to an old age, and was engaged upon the revision of this work for more than half a century. The passage, moreover, in which the writer states that he visited Mecca in 1160 A.H., seems evidently written by the same person who wrote the beginning of the volume. This compilation is divided into detached chapters, one being devoted to each separate dynasty, and the disregard of order is of course chiefly attributable to the mistake in the binding.

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Second Book.—Preface, pp. 1 to 3—Turks, early Mughals and Kara-khitaians, pp. 3 to 15—Ghorian Dynasties, pp. 16 to 26—Kings of Kirt, Khwarizm Changiz Khan and his descendants, pp. 26 to 90—T'imur and his descendants, pp. 90 to 122—Sultans of Hindustan, pp. 123 to 165.

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Abyssinia, Rum, Egypt, the Popes and Khalifas, etc., etc, pp. 291 to 490—Samanis, Ghaznivides, Buwaihides, Saljuks, Atabaks, etc., pp. 490 to 694—Safavians, Nadir Shah, and Sultans of Rum, pp. 695 to 745.

SIZE—8vo., 745 pages of 11 lines each. Including marginal notes, these mean an average of about 13 lines to a page.

The *Bahru-t Tawarikh* offers nothing worthy of Extract.

MUHAMMAD-NAMA

This work was written according to the express orders of the Emperor Muhammad Shah, by some dependent of Nawab Mustafa Khan, surnamed Mustatab Jan Baba.

SIZE—8vo., 280 pages of 17 lines each.

TARIKH-I MUHAMMAD SHAHI
OF
YUSUF MUHAMMAD KHAN

This work is mentioned in the *Ma-asiru-l umara* as one of the sources whence the materials of that valuable work were derived. The *Tarikh-i Chaghatai* and the *Tarikh-i Nadiru-z Zamani* are sometimes called by this name.

There is no copy of either of these works among Sir H. M. Elliot's MSS. An Extract bearing the title of this last proves to be identical with the *Siyaru-l Muta-akhkhirin.*

TARIKH-I AHMAD SHAH

[The Editor has been unable to discover either the exact title of this work or the name of the author. There is no copy of the original MS. in Sir H. M. Elliot's library, nor is the work to be found in the British Museum, in the Library of the Indian Office, or in that of the Royal Asiatic Society. The following Extracts have been taken

from a translation made by D. Forsyth, and headed "History of Ahmad Shah." It is a work of some length, and terminates abruptly about six months before the deposition of Ahmad in 1754 A.H. It begins with the following exordium.]

EXTRACTS

The occurrence of all great events, which may not even have entered into the conception of the human mind, becomes clear and manifest at its own proper time, and in the list of extraordinary and unlooked-for events, may be mentioned the elevation of Ahmad Shah, son of Muhammad Shah, to the throne.

And the history of these events is detailed as follows:—

Muhammad Shah had received from his ancestors, dominions of large extent, which they had by dint of prowess and successful exertion wrested from other illustrious Kings and annexed to the territories already under their rule. But instead of being impressed with the importance of attending to the affairs of his kingdom, and turning his earnest attention as became an Emperor towards the management of the country, Muhammad Shah, from the commencement of his reign, displayed the greatest carelessness in his government, spending all his time in sport and play. This neglect on the part of the Sovereign was speedily taken advantage of by all the *amirs* and nobles, who usurped possession of *subas* and *parganas*, and appropriated to themselves the revenues of those provinces, which in former days were paid into the Royal treasury, and amounted to several *krors* of rupees. From these provinces not one farthing found its way into the Royal chest; but a small revenue was still derived from those few *khalisa parganas* which as yet remained faithful to their allegiance. As the Royal treasury became gradually emptied, the Emperor's army was reduced to great straits, and at last entirely broken up; whlist the nobles of the land, who in the time of former sovereigns could

never have got together such an amount of wealth, or so large a force, now amassed large sums of money from their own *jagirs*, and form those Government lands of which they had seized possession, and from the *jagirs* of others. a twentieth portion of which they did not give to the rightful owners. With this wealth they were able to keep up an immense army, with which the Emperor was unable to cope. Thus the Emperor found himself more circumscribed than his nobles, upon whom he, in fact, became dependent, and was unable to depose or displace any one of them.

This state of things lasted till the period of Nadir Shah's arrival in Hindustan, from Iran, about the year 1151 A.H. As Muhammad Shah had no means whatever of resistance, he was completely dependent upon his nobles, with whose forces he went out to meet Nadir Shah. But owing to the want of unity in all the councils and actions of the nobles, they were unable to effect anything like a stand against him, and soon were defeated by the enemy. . .

The condition of the country after the departure of of Nadir Shah was worse than before. The *amirs* took what they liked. The Emperor spent what remained to him in sports and pastime. He locked up his son, Ahmad Shah, in one part of the citadel, not wishing him to appear in public. He kept in the greatest indigence, and would not allow him to indulge in the game of *chaugan*, hunting, shooting, or any royal sports, such as he practised himself. . . . .

First Durrani Invasion

At the time (of Ahmad Afghan's first invasion) Muhammad Shah was suffering from an attack of paralysis, and was not able to sit on horseback; but he ordered his chief nobles to set out and quell this rebellion on the frontier. For this purpose Karmru-d din Khan *Nusrat Jang Waziru-l Mamalik*, ... Safdar Jang *Mir-atish*, Sa'adat Khan Bahadur *Zu-l fikar Jang*, third paymaster;

Nasir Khan Bahadur, and Raja Isri Singh, *Zamindar* of Amber and Jaipur, with other nobles and *sardars*, took their departure on the 18th of Muharram, in the thirtieth year of the reign. In the space of fifteen days or so, this army had proceeded fifteen miles from Dehli, when news came of Ahmad Afghan having reached Lahore with his force. Also news came that Hayatu-llah Khan had guarded all the gates and streets, and had sent a force under Sadar Zilla Khan Kasur Pathan to oppose him. But Zilla Khan immediately went over to the enemy with his whole force, and Hayatu-llah Khan, seeing resistance no longer possible, fled without striking a blow, and left all his property and treasure in Lahore. I'timadu-d daula wrote to the Emperor, representing that all the *sardars* and nobles were declaring themselves independent, but that if the Emperor would send his son Prince Ahmad from Dehli, to take charge of the army and to remain at its head, the war could easily be put an end to.

Muhammad Shah was most unwilling to part with any authority to his son, but being in great straits, and completely helpless, he sent for his son on the 19th of Safar, kissed him in open *darbar*, gave him a copy of the Kuran and then dismissed him. He would not give him any title or rank to assume, but provided a suitable *sawari* of elephants, horses, etc., and Sa'adat Khan, his maternal uncle, was appointed his counsellor, that he might give him the best advice on all occasions. The management of all war affairs was given over to I'timadu-d daula.

When the Royal army reached Machiwara, the spies gave information that Ahmad Afghan had reached Philor, which is about thirty miles from Machiwara. The generals entered into deliberation, whether they should cross the Sutlej or not; but they came to the resolution not to do so, lest the enemy, avoiding an attack, should cross over at some other place. They therefore determined to remain where they were. They soon heard that the enemy had crossed at the ford near Ludhiyana, which

is about twenty miles distant from Machiwara, and having laid waste the country round about the high road, was proceeding towards Sirhind. As Ahmad Afghan carried on his person no signs of superior rank, Prince Ahmad was unable to learn whether he was with his army or behind, and fearing lest he should be in the rear, and suddenly fall on his army, he marched two or three miles a day along the river towards Ludhiyana in search of the enemy. He then heard that Ahmad Afghan had passed straight on the Sirhind with his force, and had set that city on fire, and got possession of the *wazir's* treasure. When this intelligence reached Dehli, the greatest consternation and dismay prevailed, and the inhabitants prepared to fly with their families. . . .

News was brought that Prince Ahmad, with I'timadu-d daula, had fallen back from the banks of the Sutlej and met with Ahmad Afghan's force about six miles from Sirhind, and had immediately erected batteries on four sides of his force. The enemy also erected batteries on his side in the gardens of Sirhind. A fire on both sides was opened on the 13th Rabi'u-l awwal, 1161 A.H. (3rd March, 1748 A.D.), and many men were killed in both armies. The firing continued for eight days, when Ahmad Afghan, seeing that this kind of warfare would never end, threw up a battery on a mound near the Prince's force, from which the guns threw their fire right into the Royal camp, passing over the batteries of his own army. Many members of the Royal army were killed. The whole responsibility of the war rested upon I'timadu-d daula, and to him all the soldiers cried out to be led into a general action. But to this I'timadu- daula would not consent, saying that the enemy would soon be ruined of himself.

The soldiers therefore began to make themselves as secure as they could in the camp, when of a sudden, one day, Ahmad Afghan sent a camel, with melons, apples, etc., and a letter to the Prince, desiring peace, and stipulating that if the Emperor would leave him Kabul and Thatta, which Nadir Shah had given him, and all the gold which

Nadir Shah had brought from Dehli, he would evacuate the country.

The Prince sent this letter with the camel to Zu-l fikar Jang (Sa'adat Khan), who forwarded it again to I'timadu-d daula. He sent an answer to Ahmad Afghan that he was to come and throw himself as a suppliant before the Prince, and do homage to him, and he would then endeavour to procure his pardon. Seeing from this advice that there was no hope of his stipulations being acceded to, Ahmad Afghan prepared for a general action, and on Friday, the 21st Rabi'u-l awwal, when three or four *gharis* of the day had passed—*i.e.* about eight o'clock A.M.—he opened fire from his guns. A ball from a cannon reached the tents of I'timadu-d daula Bahadur Nusrat Jang, and passing through them struck the *wazir* on his side, and, strange to say, all his attendants and followers, who were standing close around him, escaped unhurt. His son, Mu'inu-l Mulk. was at the batteries at the time, and hearing of his father's accident, came to him at once in great distress, and found him just expiring. A minute or two after he died. . . . In the mean time news arrived that Ahmad Afghan had got inside the intrenchment with his force, and was fighting there. Mu'inu-l Mulk set out immediately to oppose the enemy's further progress, and this intelligence reached the Prince. Abu-l Mansur Khan Bahadur (Safdar Jang), Raja Isri Singh, and the other *sardars,* who mounted their horses with the greatest expedition. . . . They fought so well with the enemy, that with the greatest exertion, and a display of fiery zeal, they destroyed some thousands, defeated the Afghan army, and followed up the fight for one or two miles, slaughtering and wounding. . . . . The enemy, who had at that time lost half his force, was unable to withstand the attack of Safdar Jang, and seeing a favourable opening, bore down on the right wing of the Royal army, which had been deserted by Isri Singh. Safdar Jang, on hearing of the attack in this quarter, left Mu'inu-l Mulk and came to the assistance of the

Prince's portion of the army, and his force committed the greatest havoc. Ahmad Afghan then fled with the remnant of his men, and taking shelter in a small fort, began to open a fire of cannon, and killed a number of men. To attack this fort, several large guns were brought up, and planted ready; but night came on before any attack was made. During the night Ahmad, seeing that it was useless to hold out any longer against the superior force of the Prince, who had gained a decided advantage, he silenced his guns, and under favour of the darkness fled, no one knew in what direction. The Prince with his army remained under arms the whole night; and when morning came, they were surprised to find no trace of the enemy.

The army remained in the same position till the 25th Rabi'u-l awwal, when messengers arrived from Ahmad Afghan bearing again the same proposals for peace, viz, the session of Kabul and Thatta, and the restoration of the money which Nadir Shah had taken. The Prince, however, would not listen to these terms.

As the enemy was completely defeated, and all his forces totally routed, all messages for peace were merely sent as excuses to gain time so as to enable his treasure and baggage to be brought out from Sirhind. . . . When Ahmad Afghan saw that his object could not be gained by peaceable means, and that he could not get out his property from Sirhind, he came out on the 26th to offer battle again. The Prince, too, came out to battle with all his forces. The battle was carried on for some time with artillery only. The enemy retreated before the superior force of the Prince, and Ahmad Afgan himself kept at a distance, viewing the two armies. As the fire approached him, he avoided it and fled. The artillery played the whole day, but ceased their fire at eventide. All that night the Prince's men stood to their arms. The next morning the battle was renewed on all sides, but the Afghans could not gain the superiority. When two watches of the day had passed, Ahmad Afghan took the

road to Ludhiyana in flight, and sent a message through Safdar Jang to the Prince, that Muhammad Taki Khan was coming to make a treaty. Safdar Jang, believing this to be true, withdrew his men from the pursuit, thus allowing the enemy time to withdraw all his property and treasure towards Ludhiyana. . . . Orders were speedily issued for pursuit, and they were responded to with the greatest alacrity by the army, who followed up and slew all the stragglers, and those who were worn out with flight, of Ahmad's army, and took all the swords, horses, and camels they could find. Whoever got the plunder was allowed to keep it for himself. Many were made prisoners, and the number of horses, mules, etc., which were captured, was immense. On the next day the army halted, and on the 29th Rabi'ul awwal the Prince marched into Ludhiyana, a distance of twenty miles. . . .

At that time Safdar Jang had the full command of the army, and no one could do anything without his orders. To him the Prince gave his commands that they should march towards Lahore, to prevent the possibility of the enemy attempting to take that city after he had recruited his strength a little. Safdar Jang did not agree to this plan, and endeavoured to delay by every kind of stratagem, and two or three days afterwards, having marched five or six *kos* from Ludhiyana, he encamped, hoping that news might reach the Emperor of what was going on. At last the Emperor consented that the Prince, Sa'adat Khan Bahadur, and Safdar Jang should come back to Court, and that Mu'inu-l Mulk and Nasir Khan should march to Lahore and Kabul. The Prince sent off his tents for Dehli the next day, and on the evening of the 23rd he invested Mu'inu-l Mulk with the command of the army, and sent him off towards Lahore. On the 24th, having despatched Nasir Khan towards Kabul, he set out himself in the morning for Dehli, and having reached his first stage, sent a letter to the Emperor, which reached his presence on the 26th Rabi'u-s sani.

Mu'inu-l Mulk marched with his force stage by stage to Lahore.

Death of Muhammad Shah and accession of Ahmad Shah

The Emperor was naturally of a weak constitution. . . . He was frequently subject to bad fevers, and at this time he was thus afflicted, when he one day was carried in a litter to the Masjid Sangi Gate, which was inside the fort, and there sat in state with all his nobles and attendants. All of a sudden he fainted away. . . . He recovered a little from his fainting fit, . . . but his speech had entirely left him. Every moment the Emperor's illness changed its symptoms, and he was insensible during the whole night. The next morning, on tht 27th Rabi'u-s sani, in the thirty-first year of his reign, A.H. 1161 (15 April, 1748 A.D.), the Emperor breathed his last. Those who were present at the time of his decease were of opinion that the wisest course to pursue would be to conceal from the public the news of the Emperor's death till the arrival of the Prince, and they accordingly enjoined strict silence on all those who were aware of the melancholy event which had happened. They then put the corpse into the wooden case of a European clock, which was very long, and stood in the Hayat Bakhash Garden, and for a shroud they procured a cloth from the *darogha* of the kitchen, pretending it was required for the dinner table. They buried him in the graden. Letters were then despatched to the Prince, informing him of the dangerous illness of the Emperor, and urging him to come to Dehli with all possible speed, but they made no mention of the Emperor's death.

The Prince, on hearing the sad news, pushed on with all haste. . . . Beyond Panipat he was met by a processon bearing the Golden Umbrella and the other emblems of Royalty, which had been sent by Safdar Jang. Though the Prince, on seeing these emblems, was given to understand that his father had died, he did not wish to assume hastily the regal title, but pro-

posed to go on to Dehli as usual, and there, having mourned for his father three or four days, and having performed all the funeral ceremonies, then to assume the title of Emperor. But Safdar Jang, seeing the evil that was likely to result from this, would not permit such delay. The Prince was forced to submit, and assumed the Royal Umbrella and all the insigina of royalty, and the usual rejoicings took place. . . . The length of Muhammad Shah's reign was thirty years and twenty-seven days, dating his ascent to the throne from the murder of Farrukh Siyar.[1]

When the Prince succeeded his father on the throne of Dehli, he took the title of Mujahidu-d din Ahmad Shah Ghazi, and in the prayers and on the coins these titles were adopted, and to his deceased parent he gave the title of Hazrat Firdaus Aramgah. Ahmad Shah was not a man of great intellect; all the period of his youth till manhood had been spent in the *harem*, and he had absolutely no experience whatever of the affairs of a kingdom, or of the cares of government. Besides this, he was surrounded by all kinds of youthful pleasures, which every person, seeing the turn of his mind, was anxious to display before him to entice his fancy. As a natural consequence, he gave himself up entirely to pastime and sports, and bestowed no thought on the weighty affairs of the kingdom. To manage a country and wield a sceptre is a matter full of difficulty, and until an Emperor understands throughly himself the good and bad tendency of every measure, he cannot be fit for a ruler.

[1][*The Tarikh-i Muzaffari says, "The length of the reign of this sovereign, from his accession on the* 11*th Zi-l ka'da, was thirty years four months and twelve days; or reckoning according to the official account from* 9*th Rabi'u-s sani the day on which Farrukh Siyar was placed in confinement, thirty years eleven months and eighteen days. His age was forty-nine years. He left one son, Prince Mirza Ahamad, and one daughter, Hazrat Begam."*]

For this reason Ahmad Shah was unable to govern the empire entrusted to him.

In the month Jumada-s sani, or one month after his ascent to the throne, news was brought from the Dakhin that Nizamu-l Mulk Asaf Jah, the Nazim of the Dakhin *subas,* who also filled the office of head paymaster in the Royal Court, and whose son Ghaziu-d din Khan acted for him, had died. In his place, his younger son Ahmad Khan Nasir Jang was appointed, he having before acted with satisfaction to his master for his father, when Nizamu-l Mulk came to Dehli in Muhammad Shah's time, and this appointment was made at once to prevent the chance of any rebellion or insurrection breaking out, among rival candidates. On hearing this news, the Emperor bestowed on Abu-l Mansur Khan Safdar Jang the empty post of *wazir,* vacated by I'timadu-d daula's death; and the paymastership vacated by the death of Nazimu-l Mulk, he bestowed on Zu-l fikar Jang.

The same day, Jawed Khan, the head eunuch, who in the time of Muhammad Shah had the entire management of the *harem,* and had the *entree* to the women's apartments, and although 50 years old, could neither read nor write, but being constantly in the presence of the Emperor, had represented himself as being well up to business and an intelligent man, prevailed on the simpleminded youth of an Emperor to appoint him *darogha* of the *Diwan-i khass,* with a *mansab* of 6000, thus exalting him far above his equals. . . . The Emperor gave over the entire management of the country to him. The Nawab, who had in the days of the former sovereign carried on a secret intimacy with Ahmad Shah's mother, who was originally a dancing girl, now openly governed the realm in concert with her, and, contrary to the custom of all *harems,* where no male domestics are allowed at night, he always remained in the women's apartments all night, and in the day used to converse with low characters, such as *khansamans,* and did not look on the nobles.

Character, qualities, and lineage of the mother of the Emperor

Udham Bai, the mother of Ahmad Shah, was first introduced into Muhammad Shah's *harem* in the beginning of his reign, and she received the title of Udham Bai, and for some time remained the favoured one in the sight of the Emperor. But her good fortune deserted her, and she fell to a state of abjectness. She became the contempt of the *harem*, lost all her character and station, and was not even at last allowed to see her own son. When, however, her son, Ahmad Khan, ascended the throne, her star of prosperity daily increased, till at last she surpassed all the Begams. She was first called Bai Jiu Sahiba, afterwards "the Parent of the Pure, the Lady of the Age, Sahib Ji Sahiba, on whom be peace!" Then she was called Hazrat, afterwards Kibla-i 'Alam, in addition to the former titles held in the deceased Emperor's time, and although she had already a mansab of 50,000, yet owing to the intimacy she kept up with the Nawab, she managed to have the rule of the whole Empire. Notwithstanding the lowness of her origin, and the very humble position which she had till lately held, the fruits of her generosity and magnanimity soon became known and lauded. First of all she gave to all the young children of the deceased Emperor, who in his time got no monthly pension, £50 a month. To many of the Begams she gave larger pensions out of the Government purse, to many more out of her own private funds; and on any person who had managed anyhow to make his case known to her she bestowed charity. Having called together the families of her children and grandchildren, she distributed to them large presents of money, and fixed monthly salaries for their maintenance. In short, the Queen and the Nawab took the whole government into their own hands, and the Emperor had nothing left but the empty little. . . .

Second Durrani Invasion

After several months, Ahmad Khan Afghan again made

his appearance with an army, and crossing the Indus, made direct for Lahore. Mu'inu-l Mulk marched out from Lahore, and crossing the Ravi with a large force, went to meet him, and encamped two miles from Lahore, where he threw up three intrenchments. Ahmad Khan, after crossing the Chinab and Jhelam, reached within six miles of his camp, and some smart skirmishing took place; but Mu'inul Mulk, seeing that the enemy's force was so superior to his own, would not engage in a general batle. Ahmad Khan's forces, separating in all directions, laid waste the villages and fields on every side, till they arrived in the neighbourhood of Lahore, destroying all the country in its proximity. Mu'inu-l Mulk took no notice of this destruction to the country, though it was apparent to his eyes. The news of Ahmad Khan's attack speedily reached the ears of the Emperor and the *wazir*, but no one thought of sending troops to assist Mu'inu-l Mulk; on the contrary, the *wazir* was not a little pleased to hear of his embarrassment.

At last news arrived that Mu'inu-l Mulk had according to the advice and instructions of the Emperor, ceded to Ahmad Afghan the four *mahals* of Lahore, viz. Sialkot, Imanabad, Parsarur and Aurangabad, which had formerly belonged to the ruler of Kabul. Nasir Khan was appointed to manage these four *mahals* and sent the yearly revenue to Kabul. Ahmad Khan, being perfectly satisfied with this arrangement, quitted the Punjab for Kabul, and Mu'inu-l Mulk returned to Lahore. . . .

One day a number of oppressed subjects assembled themselves together in the empty courtyard opposite the Nawab's palace, and waited there till he came out to go to the Emperor, when they mobbed him and detailed all their grievances. The Nawab, as usual, tried to put them off by fair words and deceitful promises, and wished to escape from them inside the palace, but was forcibly detained, his clothes being held by the people, who would not let him go till he settled for the payment of their arrears. His clothes were torn to pieces, and the

fragments remained in the hands of the soldiers. . . . The complaints of the sepoys grew daily louder. The Emperor went to the Queenmother, and said that he was completely overpowered by his troops, and his reputation was entirely gone; and therefore begged for assistance from the Queen, so as to escape from their importunity. This gave rise to much discussion. At last, having taken all the ornaments from the three Begams, he pledged them for money, to the value of several *lacs* of rupees, but he paid no one their salaries. The soldiers, on account of their want of pay, and the nobles through the want of some controlling power instead of their own authority, became helpless, and reduced to extremities.

At this time Kaim Khan Afghan, who was the chief of Kanauj and Farrukhabad, and a noble in the Royal Court, who held a *mansab* of 7000, and had the titles of Kaim Jang and Kaimu-d daula, whose father likewise had held these lands in the time of the former Emperor, made arrangements for war upon Sa'du-llah Khan, son of the *Zamindar* of Alola and Bangash, in the district of Sambhal, on the other side of the Ganges, and got together a large force and artillery. Sa'du-llah Khan heard of his approach, and prepared to resist his attack, but first tried the effect of negotiation. . . . But as Kaim had the superiority in force, he would not listen to any negotiation. A general battle ensued. In the midst of the battle a ball struck Kaim and killed him. Sa'du-llah Khan returned with immense spoil to his own territory. The Emperor entertained no feelings of displeasure or distress on hearing of this business, but the *wazir* seized upon the favourable opportunity for taking possession of the lands of Kaim Khan, determining that as so great a *sardar* as Kaim had been removed, it should be a long time before such another took his place. At last the Emperor had nothing whatever to say to anything that went on, and the Nawab became in reality the reiging sovereign as far as concerned the managing the revenues

and general affairs of the country. The Emperor considered it to be the most agreeable to him to spend all his time in ease and pleasure, and he made his *zenana* so large that it extended for a mile. For a week together he would live in his gardens for one and two months at a time.

Second Rohilla Insurrection. Malhar Holkar

After the departure of Safdar Jang, Ahmad Khan's followers put to death the *kotwal* of Farrukhabad, who had been appointed by the *wazir*. On hearing this a fire was kindled in the *wazir's* mind, and he determined to take possession for himself of all their lands and houses. The Rohillas had greatly the superiority in numbers, and the *wazir's* force, unable to withstand them, gave way. The *wazir* remained watching his force giving way, and as the battle drew near to him, his elephant was wounded in several places, and he himself received a ball in the chin which just grazed the skin, singeing his beard, and narrowly missing his head. The *mahout*, seeing this, turned the elephant's head, carried him out of the battle-field, and in one day brought him to the neighbourhood of Koel, a distance of forty miles, where his wound was healed. The *sardars* of his army fled from the field on all sides; none remained with the *wazir*. The whole of the tents and baggage fell into the hands of the Rohillas.

Raja Isri Singh, master of 7000 horse, died. As he had no son, his younger brother, Madhu Singh, who was grandson of the Rana, and had lived with the Rana since his birth, was installed in his place. In the confusion consequent on change of rulers, Malhar Holkar Mahratta Dakhini, who was *Nazim* of the Malwa country, came with a large force and sat down before Jaipur. Madhu Singh, being unable to cope with Holkar's force, tried the effect of peaceful negotiation; but Holkar would listen to no terms, except those of Madhu Singh giving up all his treasure and guns, in which case he promised to evacuate the country; if not, he would take possession

of the territory; and as an earnest of his intentions, he laid waste the country of Jaipur for about ten or twelve miles, and the inhabitants of the town were unable to get supplies of grain and grass. Madhu Singh, being thus reduced, came to Holkar, whose men at once seized all his jewels and money and plundered as they chose. Holkar then dismissed the Raja, and returned to his own territory.

The *wazir* sent Raja Ram Husain, his *diwan,* and Raja Jagat Kishor, who had the *suba* of Bengal, to Malhar Holkar, with a message that he ought to assist him in punishing the impudence of the rebel Afghans. These two used their utmost powers of persuasion to influence Holkar to come over the Jumna by Agra, and when the *wazir* heard of this arrangement having been definitely made, he himself started, but this time took none of the Jats, etc., with him. He gave the whole charge of the force into Holkar's hands. At that time there was no great *sardar* of note in Hindustan who had obtained a superiority over the rest. The *wazir* used to go sometimes to Holkar's tents, and Holkar came to his. Holkar left his tents two or three miles ahead of the *wazir,* and in this way proceeded till they reached the country of the Afghans. They had this time collected together a force one hundredfold as great as the former one. Holkar's army, as it proceeded, laid waste the country, cutting off all supplies from the Afghan force. On the other side of the Ganges the road was in the hands of the Afghans, who guarded it on both sides. A battle took place between the two forces, but Ahmad Khan Afghan was unable to withstand the enemy, and retreated along the banks of the river, till he found a ford where he crossed, and thence fled.

The towns of Farrukhabad, Ataipur, and others, fell into the possession of the Dakhinis. They destroyed the houses, and took away as plunder all the guns, etc., and a large amount of treasure which the Rohilla force had been unable to carry away with them. The Afghans,

because the Dakhini force was unable to pursue them, encamped on the Ramganga, near Bareilly. The *wazir*, crossing over the Ganges with his army, went to attack the Afghans. The Dakhini army remained on this side, and the Afghan force on the other side of the river. The *wazir* and Malhar Rao separately went in pursuit of the army, which was encamped on the banks of the Ramganga. A running fight was kept up between the contending forces for several days. At last the Afghans, departing from thence with all their families and baggage, went to Alola, the residence of Sa'du-llah Khan. The *wazir* and Malhar followed them thither, and blockaded Alola. Ahmad Khan and Sa'du-llah Khan first went in the direction of the Jumna, which is towards the northern hills, and has a ford at Burya, that they might cross the river there, and having plundered Sirhind, might go on to Lahore. But they were afraid to undertake this enterprise, from fear of the enemy. They sent off their families into the hills, and hid themselves in the thickest jungles of a forest, which is one hundred miles in length, and thirty or forty miles in breadth, and there remained concealed. The victorious army entrenched themselves near these jungles, and held themselves in readiness for a fight. During this time the forces of the Mahratta Dakhinis, splitting up into small bodies, began plundering Muradabad, and all the cities and *parganas* of that part of the country. These places, having never before been visited by any plundering army, had been inhabited long time by merchants and bankers, who had amassed great wealth, which they kept in these cities. The Dakhini force attacked and ransacked the whole country, not allowing a single man to escape, and every article of money or property they carried off as booty. Many of the old families were completely ruined. Most of the better class of men, to save themselves from disgrace, committed suicide.

The Afghan force, which remained concealed in the jungles, now and then sallied forth against the *wazir's*

troops, and, having made successful attacks, returned to their place of shelter. The *wazir's* men were quite on the alert to attack in their turn; but they could not by any means get the enemy out of the woods into the open. They then tried to blockade the forest, and cut off all supplies of grain; but as they received their supplies from the Raja of Kumaun in the rear, the Afghan army was not in the least inconvenienced. Many a time the *wazir* sent word to the Raja, to seize on all their supplies; but his message had no effect. Although the *wazir* had intrenched himself, was watching patiently his opportunity, and had spent large sums of money in this undertaking, yet the Emperor of Dehli gave himself not the slightest concern about what was going on. He was employed constantly in pleasure and sport; and the *Nawab*, who was entrusted with the whole management of the Empire, was busy peculating in the public money. . . .

When the *Amiru-l umara* (Sa'adat Khan) returned from Ajmir, and paid his respects at the Court at Dehli, he found the Emperor's condition changed entirely. The *Nawab* (Jawed), in the absence of Ahmad Afghan, and of *Mir Bakhshi* (Sa'adat Khan), who had gone towards Ajmir to settle the affairs of the Rajputs, had acquired such an accession of power that it was almost impossible for him to have more—to such a degree, in fact, that when the *Bakhshi* wished that he might receive some *jagir* and money pension in return for his services and the fortune which he had expended in the war, he was unable to obtain the gratification of his wish, but, on the contrary, his rank and power became somewhat diminished. Although he petitioned the Emperor, his petitions were made over to the *Nawab*. The *Bakhshi*, who was a man of good birth, and had never been accustomed to make his requests through the medium of any third party, became greatly distressed and annoyed at this, and relaxed in his visits to the royal presence. His servants pressed him for their pay; but the *Amir* explained to them his abject condition, and showed it to

the world, till at last he fortified his house with rockets and other firearms, and then shut himself up. And it was commonly reported that he said (whether true or false) to his friends, "There is no Emperor here. Why should we go to the *darbar* of a eunuch, to be insulted, and have our dignity lessened? To whom shall I state my case that I may be heard? It is better to give up such service." He then concerted a plot with I'timadu-d daula, and they both wished to bring the other nobles, who were anything but satisfied with the *Nawab*, and found their dignity much lessened by him, to join with them and create an insurrection.

The *Nawab* heard of this plot, and frightened the Emperor by the intelligence, and advised him at once to depose Zu-l fikar Jang (Sa'adat Khan) from his rank and title. . . . Ghaziu-d din was given the title of *Nizamu-l Mulk and Amiru-l umara*, and received the office of *Mir Bakhshi* and the *Subadari* of Agra. I'timadu-d daula obtained the *Subadari* of Ajmir and *Faujdari* of Narnaul in the room of Sa'adat Khan deposed, with the titles of *Imamu-l Mulk Khan-khanan*, besides all his former titles and rank. The *jagirs* of Sa'adat Khan, which he had received in the present reign, and which partly had been bestowed in the time of the old Emperor, were resumed. Sa'adat Khan waited a few days more, to see if he should be restored to his former dignity; but when he found that it would not be so, he sold all his jewels and silver, paid up and discharged all his soldiers, and requesting of the Emperor permission to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca, he prepared everything for his journey thither. The *Nawab* persuaded the Emperor to place guns near Sa'adat Khan's house, to prevent his coming out, and no one was allowed to go from without to visit him. . . .

On hearing the news (of the approach of Ahmad Abdali), the Emperor wrote a letter to the *wazir*, telling him of the impending war, and requesting him quickly to finish the war with the Rohillas and Ahmad, and then return to him. The *wazir* (Safdar Jang), before this

letter had arrived, and as soon as he had heard what was going on in the Panjab, opened negotiations with the enemy, and on the arrival of the Emperor's letter, he received some presents from Sa'du-llah Khan Rohilla, and took from him written promises to pay more in the future, on which conditions he allowed him to retain his lands. Ahmad Khan, too, was permitted to keep his ancestral property, and leave was granted him to give over all the other lands which had been seized to any one he chose. Having made peace in this manner, he retired. Mahmud Khan, son of Ahmad Khan, and the brother of Sa'du-llah Khan Rohilla, came into the *wazir's* camp, paid their respects, and then departed again. The *wazir* marched from thence towards Lucknow, and settled that province. . . .

The news of Ahmad Abdali's rebellion daily increased, and the newsmongers from Lahore brought word that Mu'inu-l Mulk had sent his mother and family to Jammu, where they would be safe out of reach of all pursuit. All the inhabitants of the city, seeing their ruler take flight in this manner, sent off their families to Dehli and other parts to the south-east. When much negotiation had been carried on, and Mu'inu-l Mulk heard that Ahmad had reached the banks of the Indus, and was intending to cross, he sent him nine *lacs* of rupees.

As the pay of the chief officers and others in the Emperor's service was very great, and it had been allowed to run on for twenty-two months, on the 14th Rabi'u-s sani, the *khwajas* and *peons* of the *harem*, having left their posts, assembled at the large gate, which is called the *Nazir's* gate, and, sitting down there, stopped the way for passengers and the supplies of water, grain, etc., which were being brought in and out. A disturbance threatened, and the *Nazir*, Roz-afzun Khan, had that day sent in his resignation to the Emperor, because there were no receipts, and the expenditure from the treasury was enormous. . . .

Ahmad Abdali, leaving his encampment on the other

side of the Ravi, crossed over with his troops, and pitched his tents near Lahore. Mu'inu-l Mulk also crossed over, and encamped in the rear of the city, and preparations were made for battle. On the 1st of Jumada-l awwal, Ahmad made a movement in advance with all his army, and a general battle took place. Raja Kora Mal was killed. Mu'inu-l Mulk, on hearing this sad news, gave up the battle, and began to reflect that Kora Mal, who had been the great opponent of peace, was gone, and as the Abdalis were fond of money, it would be far best to give them anything they wished, and make peace. He therefore sent a message to this effect. Ahmad, seeing that Mu'inu-l Mulk's force was all scattered, considered this a favourable opportunity. He sent a message to Mu'inu-l Mulk: "My business was with Kora Mal: now that he is dead, go you into the fort, and remain there. I have nothing to do with you or the city. The money which I have demanded from you, do you give me, either collected from the peasants, or from your own resources; then I will depart." Mu'inu-l Mulk, being defeated, could not but consent to everything Ahmad proposed, and Ahmad's men took possession of the city, which they plundered. . . . After a time, Ahmad, having made presents to Mu'inu-l Mulk, retired to Kabul.

BAYAN-I WAKI'
OF
KHWAJA 'ABDU-L KARIM KHAN

This is the title of the memoirs of Khwaja 'Abdu-l Karim Khan of Kashmir, which contain a very full account of the proceedings of Nadir Shah in India, and of the reigns of Muhammad Shah and Ahmad Shah. Part of this work has been translated by Gladwin, and an abstract of the author's pilgrimage to Mecca has been given by M. Langles in his *Collection Portative des Voyages* (Paris, 1797-1835. 8vo.).

The following list of contents will show that the *Bayan-i Waki'* contains valuable materials for the history of the period of which it treats.

It is devided into five Chapters, each containing several Sections:

Chap. I. History of Nadir Shah and his march to Hindustan—Sec. i. Family of Nadir Kuli Beg; Sec. ii. Downfall of the Safavi Dynasty, and rise of the Afghans; Sec. iii. Contest with Malik Mahmud Shabistani; Nadir Kuli Beg obtains the title of Khan; Sec. iv. Battle of Shah Tahmasp with the Afghans who had taken possession of 'Irak and other places; the power of the *Kazalbashis*, and death of Ashraf Shah; Sec. v. Engagements of Tahmasp Kuli Khan with the armies of Rum and of the Turkomans; deposition of King Tahmasp, success of King 'Abbas, and other events of the same nature; Sec. vi. Contests of Tahmasp Kuli Khan with the armies of Rum, Buluch and Turkistan, and his overcoming the three armies, after having been defeated by Naupal Pasha, the commander-in-chief of the army of Rum; Sec. vii. Accession of Nadir Kuli Beg Tahmasp Kuli Khan to the throne of Persia; Sec. viii. March of Nadir Shah towards Hindustan, and devastation of the country; Sec. ix. Hostilities between the Emperor of India and the King of Persia: treaty of peace with which they concluded; Sec. x. Arrival of both kings at Dehli, the metropolis of India, and the cause of the general massacre; Sec. xi. Events which happened after the general massacre.

Chap. II. Nadir's return to Persia, and his visit to Turan and Khwarizm—Sec. i. Departure of Nadir Shah from Dehli to Kabul and Sind, and the deliverance of the people of India; Sec. ii. Events which occurred during his stay in Dehli; Sec. iii. Nadir Shah's march towards Sind, ruin of the country, and imprisonment of its ruler; Sec. iv. Nadir Shah's pursuit of Khudayar Khan, festival of Nauroz, with the display of the plunder of India, and list of the presents distributed on the occasion; Sec. v. March of the King from Hirat to

Turan, and its conquest; Sec. vi. March from Balkh towards Bukhara; Sec. vii. Interview of the King of Turan with Nadir Shah; Sec. viii. Events which occurred during Nadir's stay at Bukhara; Sec. ix. March of the King from Bukhara towards Charju, and his war with the Turkomans, whom he conquered, with some other events which happened during that period; Sec. x. March of Nadir Shah towards Khwarizm; Sec. xi. Return to Khurasan and Marv; Sec. xii. Journey to Mazandaran, and the events which occurred there; Sec. xiii. Translations of the Old and New Testaments.

Chap. III. Description of what the author witnessed in his journey from the capital of Kazwin to the port of Hughli—Sec. i. Journey from Kazwin to Baghdad; Sec. ii. Tombs of holy men; Sec. iii. Author's journey to Mecca, *via* Syria and Aleppo, with a *kafila;* Sec. iv. Visit to Medina across the desert; Sec. v. Other events which happened on his way from Mecca to the port of Hughli.

Chap. IV. Events from the author's arrival at the port of Hughli to the death of Muhammad Shah—Sec. i. A short account of Bengal, etc.; Sec. ii. Arrival of an ambassador from Nadir Shah to the Emperor; Sec. iii. March of Muhammad Shah against Muhammad 'Ali Khan Rohilla; Sec. iv. Account of Nadir Shah's death; Sec. v. Death of the Nawab Zakariya Khan; Sec. vi. Expedition of Ahmad Shah, surnamed Durrani; Sec. vii. March of Ahmad, son of Muhammad Shah, to oppose Ahmad Shah Durrani: Sec. viii. Battle between Sultan Ahmad, son of Muhammad Shah, and Ahmad Shah Abdali; Sec. ix. Death of Muhammad Shah, and a short account of his ancestors.

Chap. V. Events which happened during the reign of Ahmad Shah—Sec. i. Accession of Ahmad Shah to the throne; Sec. ii. Death of Muhammad 'Ali Khan Rohilla, the contests between his sons, and the quarrel of 'Alawi Khan and Nawab Kaim Khan, son of Nawab Muhammad Khan Bangash; Sec. iii. Short account of Nawab 'Alawi Khan; Sec. iv. Assassination of Jawed

Khan Nawab Bahadur, and the battles fought by Safdar Jang.

The conclusion contains miscellaneous matter relating to certain marvels, the saws and sayings of wise men, etc.

[The entire work was translated for Sir H. M. Elliot by "Lt. Prichard," and from that translation the following Extracts have been taken.]

SIZE—146 pages of 19 lines each.

EXTRACTS

Nadir Shah had sent Muhammad Khan Afshar on an embassy to Muhammad Shah, Emperor of Hindustan. But on account of the difference of opinion that existed among the nobles around that monarch, a long time elapsed, no answer to the letter was forthcoming, and the ambassador himself did not return. When Nadir considered the matter, he came to the conclusion that hostility towards him was intended by the nobles around the throne of Hindustan, and he made up his mind to march against Kabul.

What befell me after my arrival at Hughli until the death of Muhammad Shah

At this time, in consequence of the weakness of His Majesty Muhammad Shah, and the want of unanimity among his nobles, the armies of the Mahrattas of the south had spread themselves over Bengal; and Hughli fell into their hands. I had occasion to stop at the city of Firashdanga (Chandernagore), which is inhabited by a tribe of Frenchmen. The city of Calcutta, which is on the other side of the water, and inhabited by a tribe of English who have settled there, is much more extensive and thickly populated than Firashdanga. All the different tribes of Europeans have got different names, such as the Fransis (French), Angrez (English), Walandiz (Hollanders), and Partagis (Portuguese). The delightful

gardens which the Europeans make, with a number of trees great and small, all cut with large shears and kept in order, as in their own country, are exceedingly pleasing and refreshing. The reason why they have so many gardens is, that a separate family, or one set of inhabitants, lives in a separate house. There is no difference whatever to be observed in any of their manners and customs; indeed, they all live just as they do in their own country. They have churches, too, where they perform Divine service in congregations, and everything else is managed in a similar way according to custom. Many tradesmen and professors of different arts have come from Europe and taken up their abode here, and get occupation in making things, carrying on their trade as they do in their own land. A great many of the Bengalis have become skilful and expert from being with them as apprentices.

As they excel in other arts and sciences, so also in a military point of view are the Europeans distinguished. This the Mahrattas know well; for although there is so much property and merchandize belonging to commercial and wealthy men of these parts in Firashdanga and Calcutta, and it would only be a journey of two *kos* from Hughli to Firashdanga, and although the Europeans have no fort, and are so few in number while the Mahrattas are as numerous as ants or locusts, yet, in spite of all this, the Mahrattas see the unanimity and concord that exists among the Europeans, and do not attempt to approach them, much less to attack them. The Europeans fight with guns and muskets; but when the time for using the sword comes, they are at a disadvantage.

One great reason of the armies from the south invading Bengal is the fighting of Nawab 'Aliwardi Khan with Nawab Sarfaraz Khan, son of Nawab Shuja'u-d daula. Sarfaraz Khan, after the death of his father, was induced by the temptation held out by his companions to lay violent hands upon and injure Haji Ahmad, brother of this 'Ali-

wardi Khan, who had been a cofidential friend of Nawab Shuja'u-d daula. 'Aliwardi Khan, too, had been on terms of friendship with Shuja'-u-d daula, and was appointed by him to manage the affairs of 'Azimabad, in the office of deputy governor, and was so employed when he marched towards Murshidabad, for the purpose of reasoning with the son of his patron on the impropriety of being induced to oppress and tyrannize over his dependents by the silly speeches of designing men, and with the hope of being able to deliver Haji Ahmad from his difficulties. Sarfaraz Khan was completely possessed with the idea that he was coming with deceitful and dishonest intentions and marched out of Murshidabad to meet him. An action took place between the two armies, in which Sarfaraz Khan was accidentally killed by a musket-ball fired by one of his own men. His army was scattered. Of his friends and officers, some were killed, others were taken prisoners, and part fled.

Now the followers and friends of Sarfaraz Khan say, that 'Aliwardi Khan made use of the false imputation as a means of advancing his own views, and that, though apparently he came for the purpose merely of having an interview and giving advice, in reality his intention was to seize upon the property and take the life of Sarfaraz Khan. At any rate 'Aliwardi Khan became master of the country and treasure, with all the wealth of Ja'far Khan, who had formerly been *Subadar* of Bengal, and was the grandfather of Sarfaraz Khan by his mother's side. The accumulated treasure of Nawab Shuja'u-d daula, and all the valuables and property of Sarfaraz Khan and his servants, fell into the hands of 'Aliwardi Khan, and God alone knows how much it was. By distributing money and behaving with kindness, by keeping on good terms with all, and behaving discreetly, he completely gained over to his cause the hearts of all men far and near.

After these events, some of the relatives and dependents of Sarfaraz Khan, who had fled and concealed themselves from fear of being punished and injured, went and took

refuge with Nawab Asaf Jah Bahadur Nizamu-l Mulk, ruler of the provinces in the south; and having led the plundering troops of the Mahrattas by the road of Orissa, they caused great injury and misery to be inflicted on the inhabitants, and distressed the rulers of the time. The fire of slaughter was kindled between the two parties, and the lives of many of 'Aliwardi Khan's army and a few of the soldiers of the Dakhin were sacrificed; but considering the strength and firmness of the Governor of Bengal, neither party can be said to have got the victory.

As the rainy season was approaching, the Dakhini troops were in anxiety about returning; and so, having abandoned the contest, they turned their faces southward, laden with spoil, the amount of which is beyond my power of description. 'Aliwardi Khan, from fear of war, pacifying the nobles and the Emperor by means of presents of cash and valuables, requested that the *subadarship* should be given to him; and he exerted himself with great activity in reducing the provinces to obedience. Nevertheless, the Mahratta troops, who were fond of good living, and well experienced in everything good or bad, established themselves on the frontier, and came yearly committing their ravages. At last, after fighting and quarrelling, and after much deceit had been practised, they came to an agreement on this point, viz. that the province of Orissa should be made over to the Mahrattas in exchange for the fourth share of the revenues of Bengal, which in the language of their country is called *chauth*. 'Aliwardi was to keep the rest.

Bengal is an extensive country and fertile, and produces a large revenue. The climate, however, is very damp, on account of the quantity of rain that falls and its proximity to the salt sea. The inhabitants of that district, like those of Kashmir and Mazandaran, live chiefly on rice. On the 1st of the month Muharram, in the year 1156 A.H., I left Murshidabad, after a sojourn there of seven months, and as I was afraid of the Mahratta

troops, which were scattered over that part of the country. I crossed the river, and set out in the direction of 'Azimabad (Patna), by way of Puraniya and Tirhut. Although the inhabitants of Puraniya suffer under chronic disease from the unhealthiness of their climate, yet as the Nawab Safi Khan, brother of Mir Khan, keeps his district in complete order and discipline, they are free and untouched by other calamities.

The city of 'Azimabad (Patna) is a well-populated and clean place, and the waters of the Ganges and Jumna, and all the canals of the district round, collected together, flow by the city, and then take their course through Bengal to the great ocean. The Europeans here have built good house, and are engaged in commerce. The leaves of the betel-tree are very good here, and they carry them hand by hand to distant places. The rice, too, of 'Azimabad is more tasty than that of Bengal, and the rich men buy it and eat it.

For some time the health of the Emperor had taken a turn for the worse, and pressing letters were frequently written to the physician, Nawab Hakim 'Alawi Khan, to come with all haste. We set out from 'Azimabad together, and passing by Benares, Allahabad and Farrukhabad, we arrived at the royal city of Shah-Jahanabad on the 10th of the month Jumada-s sani, in the year 1156 A.H., and rested from the troubles of wandering in the jungles measuring the desert. The governors of provinces and the officers of police in Hindustan were not in any way wanting in the hospitality and politeness, kindness and attention, that they showed to the Nawab Hakim 'Alawi Khan, on account of his great natural talents, learning, and great fame, in which they followed the example of the magistrates and rulers of the Kings of Iran, Rum, Arabia, and Yaman, and they exerted themselves to the utmost to please him.

At this time the *subadar* or governor of Allahabad was the Nawab Amir Khan 'Umdatu-l Mulk, pillar of the

State, and this appointment of governor was not pleasing to him, nor was it according to the Emperor's commands; but to please Nawab Kamru-d din Khan *Wazir-i' azam* or prime minister, and Nawab Asaf Jah Bahadur, he had on this pretence sent him a long way from the Court. For Amir Khan was a wise and intelligent man, and was every day setting the Emperor against the Nawab Kamru-d din Khan and the Mughal and Turan nobles. By the force of his observations, and excellent judgment of character, he was gaining his object; so they banished him from Court on pretence of giving him the *subadarship* of Allahabad, which had been settled upon him for some time.

After the lapse of a certain time, this Khan adopted a wonderful expedient. He sent to Court Nawab Abu-l Mansur Khan (Safdar Jang), who was commander-in-chief (*Sahib Jang*) of the Irani troops, and able to oppose the Turanis, from his province of Oudh. He himself repaired thither (to Court) also, and having given the appointment of commander of artillery (*Mir-atish*), from which Nawab Saiyidu-d din Khan had been ejected, to Safdar Jang Bahadur, he managed, according to his former custom, to succeed in all his objects by means of his eloquence and subtlety of address. But one day, Thursday, the 23rd of Zi-l hijja, in the year 1159 A.H., one of his own servants, with whom he had a dispute of long standing, as they were in the public hall of audience near the Jali Gate, wounded him in the side, and sent him to eternity.

Embassy from Nadir Shah to the Emperor

Mahmud 'Ali Beg and Mahmud Karim Beg, who had been sent by Nadir Shah, arrived at Court, and had the honour of kissing the threshold of royalty. They brought with them one hundred elephants, and swords with golden handles, according to the custom of Hindustan, and gilt spears and other golden weapons which were foreign to Persia and not generally used there, as well

as a letter full of expressions of friendship, and presented them before the enlightening eye of majesty. They were honoured by the gift of several precious robes of honour. After a few days, they said that Nadir Shah had sent a verbal message to the effect, that in consequence of his wars in Turan and Daghistan and Rum, and the large army he kept up, and his having remitted three years' revenue to all the population of Iran, his treasury was empty, and if he (Muhammad Shah) would send fifty or sixty *lacs* as a help to him, it would be an act of great friendship and brotherhood, and he had sent the elephants and the golden articles for the purpose of getting the money. As there was no mention whatever made in the letter about the money, Muhammad Shah cleared the account by his answer, which was this: "When my brother the King of Kings was departing, he said to me, 'Everything that comes written in a letter is right and proper, but verbal messages are never to be depended on.' However, on account of the weakness of my kingdom, and the bad behaviour and evil doings of my rulers and rebellious *zamindars,* I get no revenues at all from my provinces, and my expediture exceeds my income. This subject is not mentioned in your letter, and therefore a verbal answer is suited to verbal message." The China vessels, sandal-wood, aloe-wood, etc., which were written for in the letter, he sent with great care. Although he weighed out the money of his answer with words of circumspection, nevertheless, till the news of Nadir's death arrived, nobles, *wazirs,* the Emperor himself, and even beggars, were in an anxious state of mind.

Murder of Nawab Bhadur. Battle between Nawab Safdar Jang and the nobles of Ahmad Shah. Destruction and plunder of the old city of Dehli

Jawed Khan Nawab Bahadur, the eunch, was desirous of getting into his own hands, and without a partner, the whole direction of the Government of the coun-

try, with the assistance of Nawab Kudsiya, mother of the Emperor. The Nawab Safdar Jang *Wazir-i' azam* also was desirous of doing the same thing for himself. So both these men became enemies to one another, and each waited for an opportunity of preventing the other from being a sharer in the Government. Nawab Safdar Jang was first to begin and called into the city Surja Mal Jat, openly on the pretence of consulting him about taking and setting in order the capital of the Empire, but secretly and really with the object, that if the Emperor's men and followers should begin to raise a disturbance, they both together might be able to extinguish the flame of opposition.

They sent a message to the Nawab Bahadur to this effect, that without him they could not deliberate on the affairs of the Empire. So, on the 27th day of the month Shawwal, in the year 1165 A.H. (28 August, 1752 A.D.), he repaired to the house of the *Waziru-l Mulk*, where they killed him in a private closet, and threw his body into the river. The followers of the *wazir* said that his death in this way was the reason why the slaughter and plunder was not so bad as it would otherwise have been; because, in the event of a battle and contest taking place, the royal fort, which was his dwelling-house, and the dwelling-house of the citizens, would have been sacked, and very many men on both sides would have been killed.

After this event, Nawab Kudsiya, who had been patron of Nawab Bahadur, exhibited her displeasure. But the *Wazir-i 'azam* sent to say that in this matter he was not to blame, because the physician, Hakim Shaki Khan, had brought a verbal message from the Emperor to the effect that the best thing that could be done was to kill and get rid of Jawed Khan. He had repriminded the physician, and made Hakim Akmal Khan his physician in his room. During the month Jumada-s sani, in the year 1166, there was a disagreement between the *wazir* and the Emperor, and the enmies of the *wazir*

apprised the Emperor in many ways that it was Safdar Jang's intention to sit on the throne Buland-akhtar, younger brother of Muhammad Shah, who was of the same sect with himself, viz. a *Shi'a*. The Emperor accordingly commanded that the *wazir* should be deposed from his office of commandant of artillery. This measure he did not approve of, and asked for leave to go towards Oudh, to put the country in order. The Emperor and the enemies of the *wazir* looked upon this as an unexpected piece of good fortune and a secret victory, so they forthwith sent him a *khil'at* and leave to depart. After delaying and lingering, he determined that it was not advisable to go to the province, and halted in the city, but the emperor had laid this injunction on him, that he should go to his own province, viz. Oudh. When the quarrel between the parties became known, the Nawab Wazir, from fear lest the Turani chiefs, along with the Emperor and common people, should attack him, left the city with all his property and baggage, and halted for some days in or near the garden of Isma'il Khan and the Tal-katora and Khizrabad. This delay and waiting was planned in order that Suraj Mal Jat might arrive. When he came, he urged the Emperor to send 'Imadu-l Mulk (Ghaziu-d din) and Intizamu-d daula to him, and to tell Nawab Kudsiya to come out of the fort and take up her abode in the house of Ja'far Khan; because it was well known to Nawab Safdar Jang that Intizamu-d daula had been the cause of the firing of muskets on the day of the *'Id,* and Nawab Kudsiya, in consequence of the murder of Nawab Bahadur, had become the enemy of his family. The cause of Safdar Jang's displeasure with 'Imadu-l Mulk Mir Bakshi was this, that at the death of his father, Nawab Ghaziu-d din Khan deceased, Safdar Jang had influenced the Emperor, and had freed from confiscation the house and land of 'Imadu-d Mulk, and had procured for him the office of *Mir Bakhshi,* notwithstanding his youth. Besides, he had adopted him as his son, and was his

friend in all matters; but for all that he would not assist his patron. The short of the matter is that the Emperor sent this answer, "You obtained leave to go from this province and went; and now, for the sake of obtaining assistance from Suraj Mal Jat, you vex me in this way"

At this crisis, the Jat men began to injure and plunder the old city. Ahmad Shah sent for Nawab Zu-l fikar, who for a long time had been out of office, and living in idleness at home. He had him conducted to his presence with all honour, with the intention, that if the *wazir* should rebel, he would appoint him to the office. The next day Nawab Safdar Jang endeavoured to work upon the cupidity of the above-mentioned man, by holding out this hope to him, that if he would come over to him, he would confer upon him the office of *Mir Bakhshi,* from which 'Imadu-l Mulk had been deposed.

When all, small and great, were of opinion that Safdar Jang would be victorious, Zu-l fikar Jang asked the Emperor for leave of absence. On pretence of going to pay a visit to the tomb of the saint Shah Mardan, he went and joined the *wazir's* army, and engaged in robbing and plundering the old city. Accordingly Ahmad Shah Bahadur, acting upon the opinion of his mother and the nobles, bestowed the office of commandant of artillery upon Nawab Samsamu-d daula, son of the late Khan-dauran; and the *khil'at* of the *wazirship* upon the Nawab Intizamu-d daula, son of Kamru-d din Khan the late *wazir.* Nawab Safdar Jang, on hearing this, was struck with consternation, and took a young eunuch, who had beautiful features and a good figure, and was about thirteen years of age, who had been lately purchased by Nawab Shuja'u-d daula, and calling him Akbar Shah, placed him on the throne, and constituted himself *Wazir.* Zu-l fikar Jang he made *Mir Bakhshi,* and the other nobles he appointed to the different offices, both great and small.

From the 6th of the month Rajab, in the year 1166 A.H. fighting and contests commenced in earnest. But how can one call it fighting, when on the side of Safdar Jang there were 50,000 horsemen, and the Emperor had only a small body of men, and they too, by reason of the strength of their enemies and the weakness of their own party, were terror-stricken? But I must relate the victory of the weakest, among my records of extraordinary incidents; and the reason why these already half-conquered and almost unarmed men obtained the victory, and the others who considered themselves already conquerors were worsted, was apparently this, that Nawab Safdar Jang perceived, when he considered the state of the people of the old city, and the smallness of the army, and want of money, that they would of their own accord return to their allegiance: and so, whilst he was in fear and anxiety himself, he instilled fear into the minds of his chiefs, and did not consider it advisable to make an attack till late in the day, when Mahmud Khan of Kashmir, steward of Nawab 'Imadu-l Mulk, Hafiz Bakhtawar Khan, and the relations of the Nawab Kudsiya and others, having raised a large army, and called together the landholders from the district around, supported by their artillery, they took up their position so as to block up the entrance into the city.

Accordingly the inhabitants of the city, with a view to obtaining protection for their families and property, and on account of their being of the same sect and kindred tribe with the Mughals, deserted from the army of the *wazir* in troops; and with the hope of obtaining presents, dresses of honour, and increase of pay, entered the service of Nawab 'Imadu-l Mulk. The troop of horse called the *dagh-i sin*,[1] which Nawab Sa'adat Khan and Safdar Jang had left behind, he ('Imadu-l Mulk) kept in perfect order, and appointed Mahmud Khan to

[1] [*Branded with the letter* sin (*s*), *the initial of Sa'adat Khan.*]

their command. Notwithstanding this state of things, negotiations for peace went on.

But the Jat and Kazalbash soldiers reduced to ashes the old city and Wakilpur and other places; and the Nawab Wazir spread the report that they had gone to the Kashmir Gate. So the citizens were in a dilemma on both sides. Outside the city the Jat and Kazalbash soldiers were carrying on the attack; inside, the Emperor issued an order that the houses of those men who joined the *Wazir* should be seized. On this pretext wicked and ill-disposed men followed their own devices. The first thing that happened immediately on the Emperor's order being issued was that the houses of the sons of Mahmud Is'hak Khan deceased were plundered, because from their houses balls and rockets fell by night upon the ramparts, and in this way a world of people were injured and wounded. As every one knew that he was the brother-in-law of Nawab Shuja'u-d daula, son of the *wazir,* who was with the Emperor, they all had left their families and property there, and were plundered. Some perished by the flames, and some were drowned in the river. The same thing happened to the house of the Khwaja Mahmud Basit, who was the spiritual guide of the *wazir*. His house was outside the city walls, and as he had received a message from the *wazir* to keep his mind at ease, he had not moved out of his place. The Jat plunderers, who went by the name of Ramdal among the people of that part, attacked his house, and carried away the property of a number of men who had left their goods there; this became the source of very great affliction to the people.

Considering the quantity of property that was collected near the Kashmir Gate, which was looked upon as a safe place, the inhabitants of that part may be said to have been the worst off. All, small and great, became involved in confusion, and began to utter complaints and lamentations; and the state of the people was like a wreck, for save in the presence of Him who hears the

prayers of all in deep distress, they had no place of refuge. At this crisis Najib Khan Rohilla came with 10,000 horse and foot in answer to the Emperor's call, and on the 1st of the month above mentioned, viz. Sha'ban, he arrived in camp. Isma'il Khan of Kabul, who was *Mir-shamshir* to the *Wazir*, and had a battery in the house of Salabat Khan, made a mine under the tower of the city wall, which was adjoining the house of Kamru-d din Khan, where there was a battery of the Emperor's troops, and on the 3rd of Sha'ban they fired it. Notwithstanding that it did not produce such universal destruction as might be expected, yet many of the Emperor's followers, and the servants of 'Imadu-l Mulk who were assisting them, and who were at work trying to frustrate the enemy's design, were destroyed; and a crowd of men were wounded and in part destroyed by the stones of the tower that were blown up in the direction of the burning battery. The *wazir's* troops made an attack, and the fruits of victory were nearly visible on their side, when Nawab 'Imadu-l Mulk *Mir Bakhshi*, Hafiz Bakhtawar Khan, Najib Khan and others, opposed them and behaved with great bravery, and a large number from both sides became food for the all-devouring swords. Najib Khan Rohilla was wounded by a ball, but both sides remained as they were, neither party gaining the victory. At night Isma'il Khan left his battery, and went out to the camp of Safdar Jang. This was a source of relief to the citizens, because, when the field of battle was close, the balls and rockets fell on every one like the blows of sudden misfortune.

After his retreat, the *Mir Bakhshi*, Hafiz Bakhtawar Khan, and others advanced their batteries and got possession of the little fort of Firoz-shah, and another called the Old fort. After a few days spent in fighting, Nawab Safdar Jang abandoned his intention of keeping to the road by the river, on account of the strength of the enemy's intrenchments, and marched by way of the Tal-katora. In that direction he added fresh splendours

to the city of the angel of death. The *Mir Bakhshi* and the others then hastily strengthened their intrenchments in that quarter. Some well-contested engagements took place, and Gosain, who was an officer of great bravery in Safdar Jang's army, was killed.

When Safdar Jang found that an entrance to the city on that side was impracticable, he returned by Khizrabad and the river. The same course of events ensued. Daily the bark of life of crowds of warriors of both sides floated down the river of death. After many battles and a great deal of fighting, the *wazir* came to the conclusion, that on account of their being so close to the city and fort, the enemy were enjoying rest. So he determined to retreat by a circuitous route, and thus draw the enemy into the plain, and engage him there. Accordingly he retreated gradually to a distance of twelve *kos;* and as he retreated, 'Imadu-l Mulk advanced his trenches. But he was prevented by the prayers and tears and complaints and persuasions and panic of the citizens from atacking his adversary in the plain and turning his flank.

While matters stood thus, Saiyid Jamalu-d din Khan, who had been sent by Mu'inu-l Mulk, governor of the Panjab (who was the uncle and father-in-law of 'Imadu-l Mulk), arrived with 5000 horse, which added greatly to his strength. They were anxious to engage in battle, as men who are confronted by enemies, but Najib Khan Bahadur showed signs of disapproval.

TARIKH-I 'ALAMGIR-SANI

[This history of 'Alamgir the Second, Aurangzeb being Alamgir the First, is anonymous. The author gives neither his name nor the date of his composition. It begins with the accession of the Emperor, and terminates at his death, recounting all the events of the reign very fully, and in plain language. A few passages have been

translated by the Editor. The work begins with the Extract which follows.

SIZE—9 inches by 5, containing about 300 pages of 13 lines each.]

EXTRACTS

[Time in its changeful tortuous course is always bringing forth some fresh event, and new flowers are every day blooming in the garden of the world. In these days events have come to pass such as have never entered into the mind of man, and of these it is the writers's intention to give a brief relation.

Ahmad Shah, son of Muhammad Shah, succeeded to the throne of Hindustan, and reigned for six years three months and nine days. He gave himself up to useless pursuits, to pleasure and enjoyment, and his reign was brought to an end by the enmity which he showed to Nizamu-l Mulk Asaf Jah (Ghaziu-d din Khan), at the instigation of his *wazir* the Khan-khanan and his mother Udham Bai. He was succeeded by Muhammad 'Azizu-d din khan, son of Mu'izzu-d din Jahandar Shah, son of Shah 'Alam Bahadur Shah, son of Muhammad Aurangzeb 'Alamgir.

Ghaziu-d din Khan, being embittered against Ahmad Shah, desired to remove him, and to raise to the throne some other of the royal race who would rule under his guidance. After the defeat at Sikandra, Ahmad Shah fled into the citadel of Shah-Jahanabad. Nawab Malika-i Zamani (Queen dowager), Nazir Roz-afzun Khan, and other people of the place, were at Sikandra, and the Queen dowager and the *Nazir* conspired together to raise Muhammad 'Azizu-d to the throne, and they informed this Prince of their intention. On the 9th Sha'ban, 'Akibat Mahmud Khan went to Ahmad Shah on the part of Ghaziu-d din, and called upon him to dismiss Khan-khanan from he office of *wazir*, and not to allow him to enter the fortress,

to remove Udham Bai from the fortress, and to give the robe of *wazir* to him (Ghaziu-d din). Ahmad Shah, being unable to help himself, sent the robe and portfolio of *wazir* by the hands of 'Akibat Mahmud Khan. Next day, 11th Sha'ban 1167 A.H. (5 June, 1754 A.D.), Ghaziu-d din crossed the river with a body of Mahrattas, put on the official robe, and took his seat in the office with the usual formalities. He then directed 'Akibat Mahmud Khan to go to the dwelling of the princes (*deorhi salatin*) and bring 'Azizu-d daula. Accordingly 'Akibat Mahmud, taking with him Thankur Das *peshkar* and Nazir Roz-afzun Khan, went thither, and bringing forth 'Azizu-d daula, placed him on horseback, and, accompanying him on foot, conducted him towards the royal palace. Ghaziu-d din met him on the way, and paid his homage. Other attendants of royalty joined the procession. On reaching the public hall of audience, the Prince was placed upon the throne, the drums beat out, and he received the title of 'Abu-l 'Adl 'Azizu-d din Muhammad 'Alamgir II. Badshah-i Ghazni. He was born on the 17th Zi-l hijja, in the year 43 of Aurangzeb, 1110 Hijra (1699 A.D.).

Up to this time Ahmad Shah knew nothing of what was passing until the kettle-drums roused him from his heedlessness. Soon afterwards Ghaziu-d din's men, with some harem attendants, arrived, brought out Ahmad and his mother Udham Bai, and were about to make an end of them, when he implored them to sent him to the abode of the princes, and there confine him. So they placed him and his mother in one litter, threw a sheet over their heads and took them to the dwelling of the princes. . . .

The new Emperor was fifty-six years of age, and had five sons, the eldest of them twenty-eight years old. . . . He used to come out of his private apartments into the stone mosque or into the public hall to say the prayers at the five appointed times in the congregation; he applied himselt to reading books of history, and took no pleasure in seeing dancing or hearing singing; but he never failed on

the Sabbath to attend either the *Jami'-masjid* or the wooden mosque within the palace. . . .

When (previous to this) Raghunath Rao, Malhar Rao, and the other Mahratta chiefs came to the aid of Ghaziu-d din, he pledged himself to peace with the Mahrattas; they raised the siege of his fortress, and he recovered his lands. Ghaziu-d din and 'Akibat Khan then sent the Mahratta army against Ahmad Shah, who was at Sikandra. They plundered the royal army and made Nawab Malika Zamani Sahiba-mahal, Nazir Roz-afzun Khan, and many others prisoners. They plundered the ladies of their money and jewels, and calling together all the officers of the palace and great men who were there, they demanded payment of the promised money, declaring that they would not let the ladies go until it was paid. Ghaziu-d din and 'Akibat Mahmud Khan made themselves sureties for the payment of forty *lacs*, and the ladies were then sent to Dehli in a bullock carriage with an old tattered covering, such as they had never ridden in before. The Mahrattas crossed the river, encamped four *kos* out of the city, and there waited payment of the money. . . .

Ghaziu-d din was annoyed at the ascendency obtained by 'Akibat Mahmud Khan, . . . and sent for him to make inquiries about a sum of money which he had obtained. 'Akibat Mahmud Khan answered bitterly, and Ghaziu-d din, who had before thrown out hints about killing him to Shadil Khan and Bahadur Khan, got up and went out. No sooner had he done so than these men despatched him with their swords and daggers, and cast his body on to the sand beside the river. Intelligence of the murder was brought to the Emperor when Saifu-d din Muhammad Khan, brother of 'Akibat Mahmud Khan, was present. Ghaziu-d din came on horseback soon afterdards, and embraced and consoled Saifu-d din. On that same day Ahmad Shah and his mother were brought out from their dwelling, and conducted to another, where in the evening they were both deprived of their sight,

only a short time after 'Akibat Mahmud Khan was killed.

Death of 'Alamgir

'Alamgir entered into the cell to have an interview with the *drawesh*, and there Balabash Khan killed him with his dagger. . . . Afterwards the conspirators took the corpse, and threw it down upon the sand at the foot of *kotila* to visit a *darwesh*, and that his foot having slipped, he fell from the top of the parapet. He had reigned five years seven months and eight days.

TARIKH-I MANAZILU-L FUTUH
OF
MUHAMMAD JA'FAR SHAMLU

[THE following is the account which the author himself gives of his work in the Preface: "This work was composed at the instance of His Majesty, Abu-l Fath Sultan Muhammad Shah Bahadur[1] by faithful servant, Muhammad Ja'far Shamlu, who passed his early youth in the service of the illustrious monarch, Shah Rukh Shah Safavi, and towards the close of his career repaired to Hindustan, and waited on Muhammad Beg Khan Hamadani. During the prime of life, however, for the space of five-and-twenty years, he was constantly with Ahmad Sultan Abdali, more commonly styled Durrani, and having accompanied him several times to Hindustan, became well acquainted with the whole series of royal marches from the city of Kandahar to the metropolis of Shah-Jahanabad. At the battle, which was fought at Panipat with Wiswas Rai and his deputy Bhao, the author was himself present on the field, and witnessed the circumstances with his own eyes. Other particulars too he learnt from persons of credit and sagacity, and having

[1][*This is an error, for Muhammad Shah died in* 1161 A.H., *thirteen years before the battle which is the subject of this work. In a later page the book is said to have been written in the time of Shah 'Alam.*]

written them all down without any alteration, he designated the work by the title of *Manazilu-l Futuh,* or Victorious Marches."

The work is a short one, and the whole of it was translated for Sir H. M. Elliot by the late Major Fuller. The greater part of this translation is here printed.]

EXTRACTS

From Khandahar, which Sultan Nadir first desolated and then founded Nadirabad in its stead, and Sultan Ahmad afterwards destroying the latter city and replacing it by that of Ahmad Shahi, the route to Kabul was as follows. [*Detailed and descriptive account of the route from Kandahar by Kabul, Peshawar, Attock and Lahore, to Dehli.*]

Having concluded a description of the marches along the whole length of the route, the dark-writing pen enters into a narrative of the battle fought by Ahmad Sultan Abdali Durrani, and the Hindustani chiefs who had coalesced with him, against Wiswas Rai and his deputy Bhao, who were of the Mahratta race; when, having engaged the infidel throng at the town of Panipat, he by the aid of Divine power inflicted a severe defeat, and expelled them from the face of Hindustan, insomuch that they never ventured to re-enter it for a period of twenty years. Now-a-days, since His Majesty, potent as Alexander, and famous as Solomon, the Emperor Abu-l Muzaffar Shah 'Alam the Second Badshah Ghazi Gurgani, has gone from Allahabad to the metropolis of Shah-Jahanabad, out of the power of the sword of Zu-l fikaru-d daula Najaf Khan Irani, and has brought a body of Mahrattas in his ever-victorious train, for the sake of chastising the Afghan Rohillas, this race has gained a fresh footing in Shah-Jahanabad and Agra. . . .

In short, the author will explicitly relate a useful summary of the wondrous events that took place at the battle of Panipat, and the annihilation of the vile infidel

Mahrattas; detailing both whatever he has seen with his own eyes, and whatever authentic information he has acquired from other historians in every quarter. Wherever any one else has written a different version to that of the author's, it is entirely erroneous, and unworthy of credence, and that man has, solely with a view to his own glorification, uttered falsehoods without any foundation.

Now the author was at that time Comptroller of Affairs to Sardar Shah Pasand Khan, who was chief over 12,000 horse, consisting of Kazalbashis, Abdalis, Chaharas, Aimaks of Hirat, Marvis, Jazinis, Wardaks, Uzbaks, Charkhis, Hutakis, and Ghiljias; as well as *darogha* of Ahmad Sultan's stable, and of the *paiks* and *harkaras* (couriers and messengers). He formed the vanguard and advanced division of the army, and during the heat of the conflict we were opposed to Jhanku and Malhar Rao, two leaders of the aforesaid Mahrattas, and from all sides couriers kept constantly bringing us intelligence. Nothing, therefore, more accurate than this that I have written, has ever met any one's sight; and accordingly the movements and dispositions of the forces, and other particulars of the action, and of the period they were halted confronting each other, will here be fully detailed.

Ahmad Sultan, after fighting an action with Jhanku and Datta Patel on the banks of the river Attock, in which they were worsted, pursued them as far as Burya and Sarangpur. Just as his army was crossing the river at Burya, however, whilst a portion of it had effected its passage, another was midway across the stream, and another was still waiting to cross, the Mahrattas made a vigorous attack, and a tremendous conflict ensued. The action lasted for three or four *gharis* or even as long as a *pahar,* but ended in the ultimate discomfiture of the Mahrattas, 4,000 of whom met their death, the survivors betaking themselves to Shah-Jahanabad, where they remained.

On this side too, Ahmad Sultan having arrived op-

posite Shah-Jahanabad with his army and Najib Khan and Hafiz Rahmat, resolutely devoted his energies to the task of crossing the river Jumna from alongside Takia Majnun. The Mahrattas came out to prevent him, but notwithstanding all their exertions, they were forced to take to flight without effecting their object, and retreated precipitately. The troops in pursuing them entered Shah-Jahanabad, and having plundered all quarters of the city, returned to their own camp.

Next day Ahmad Sultan marched into Shah-Jahanabad, and at the earnest intercession of Maliku-z Zamani, the consort of Muhammad Shah, and daughter of Farrukh Siyar Babari. he prohibited his army from pillaging the city. This measure, however, was not attended with complete success, for every now and then the soldiery kept laying violent hands on the inhabitants, till, after an interval of twenty days, he marched away from thence, and proceeded to the city of Mathura. After attacking and plundering certain *Jats*, he crossed the river Jumna, and took up his quarters at Sabit-kasra for the hot weather. On the near approach of the rainy season, he marched off to Anupshahr, and laid the foundation of a cantonment, issuing orders to his army that every man should construct a thatched hut for himself, so that the camp equipage and baggage might not be damaged during the rains. The expert thatchers accordingly used their utmost diligence in preparing these abodes.

In the interim news arrived that Wiswas Rai, and his deputy Bhao, had entered Shah-Jahanabad at the head of an army numbering about three *lacs* and a half (350,000) of cavalry and infantry. On the same day, too, Nawab Shuja'u-d daula Bahadur, son of Safdar Jang Irani, joined Ahmad Sultan's army with 30,000 horse and foot, and fifty pieces of cannon. After an interview, Ahmad Sultan directed the Nawab, along with Shah Pasand Khan, to strike his tents, and repairing as quickly as possible to Shahdara, which lies on this side the river Jumna, to pitch his advanced camp there, in order that

the garrison, which was shut up in the fort of Shah-Jahanabad, might take courage to hold its own. The above individuals traversed the distance as directed in the course of three or four days, wading with extreme difficulty through the floods caused by the rain; for all the country and the roads were covered with water up to a horse's chest, and the Hindan and Kali streams were scarcely passable, as no ford could be discovered. Having thus reached Shahdara and erected their tents, several Abdalis and Kazalbashis, who were besieged in the fort, embarked on board of boats, and repaired to the advanced camp. The third day Ahmad Sultan likewise came and entered it.

At it was the rainy season, the Mahrattas did not deem it expedient to attempt the passage of the river Jumna, on account of the impetuosity of the current, and the encampment of the army on the opposite bank. Some of the Afghan chieftains too, such as 'Abdu-s Samad Khan, Kutb Jang, and others, were at Kunjpura, coming to join the army with ten or fifteen thousand followers; but owing to the headlong force of the stream, had halted, and were making arrangements for crossing. As soon as this intelligence reached the ears of Bhao and Wiswas Rai, they set their hearts on coercing the chiefs in question, and moved towards Kunjpura. On arriving there, they entered into a sanguinary conflict with the said chiefs; and ultimately the Mahratta force, from its vast superiority in numbers, having overcome them, put the whole body ruthlessly to the sword. 'Abdu-s Samad Khan and Kutb Jang suffered death, and Nijabat Khan was taken prisoner. At that time the Mahratta power had reached to such a pitch, that they had brought all the country as far as the river Attock under their subjection.

When the news of the defeat and death of the above-mentioned chieftains reached Ahmad Sultan, he expressed the deepest regret; but no benefit accrued therefrom to those who had fallen. As the rainy season, however,

had drawn to a close, he marched from Shahdara with a view to seek revenge, and turned in the direction of Kunjpura. Directly intelligence of Ahmad Sultan's movement reached the Mahratta leaders, they quitted Kunjpura, and arriving at the town of Panipat, encamped there. On this side, Ahmad Sultan, at the head of his army, consisting of 60,000 cavalry and 20,000 infantry *jazailchis*, 2,000 camel swivels, and 200 pieces of cannon, repaired to the bank of the river Jumna, right opposite to Panipat, accompanied by the chieftains of Hindustan; such as Nawab Waziru-l mamalik Shuja'u-d daula Bahadur, son of Safdar Jang Bahadur Irani, with 30,000 horse and foot, and 50 pieces of artillery; Ahmad Khan Bangash, with 15,000 horse and foot, and 60 guns; Najib Khan, with 30,000 horse and foot, and 30 guns; Hafiz Rahmat Khan Afghan Rohilla, with 25,000 horse, and 25 guns; Davindi Khan Afghan Rohilla, with 12,000 horse and foot, and 10 guns; and Asadu-llah Khan Afghan Rohilla, with a similar force. Having crossed the stream in the course of three days, he pitched his camp and pavilion in front of the Mahratta army.[2]

The Mahratta chiefs then sent Kaka Pandit,[3] a renowned leader, who had 12,000 horsemen under his command, towards Ghaziu-d din Nagar, for the purpose

[[2]*Ahmad Shah reached Baghpat, which is eighteen kos from Dehli, and pitched his tents on the banks of the Jumna. He ordered search to be made for a ford, and many horsemen who entered the river were drowned with their horses. The Shah practised abstinence, and wrote magic squares, which he threw into the water. On the third day the river became fordable. The army began to cross on the* 15*th Rabi'u-l awwal,* 1174 A.H. (25*th Oct.* 1760 A.D.), *and the passage was effected in two days. In the haste and crush some thousands were drowned.*"—"*Akhbaru-l Muhabbat.*"]

[3]["*His real name was Gobind Pandit, see "Tarikh-i Ibrahim Khan," and Grant Duff, vol. ii. p.* 145.]

of pillaging the *banjaras* who were in the habit of bringing grain to the camp of Ahmad Sultan and the chiefs of Hindustan, so as to prevent their receiving supplies. Accordingly, in the course of three days, the price of grain rose to a rupee a *sir* in the Sultan's camp. As soon as the soldiery became downcast and dispirited on account of the dearth of provisions, Ahmad Sultan mounted on horseback, under pretence of enjoying field-sports; but in the very midst of his sport, he directed Haji Nawab Alkuzai[4] ('Atai Khan) to go after some game in a certain direction at the head of 2,000 dauntless horsemen. The latter had been privately instructed, however, to go and chastise Kaka Pandit, and drive him off the road. Haji Nawab Khan, therefore, having crossed the river Jumna, reached Ghaziu-d din Nagar by forced marches in a day, and at once attacked them. The contest was carried on vigorously for two hours on both sides, but the Mahratta party were eventually defeated, and a large number of them fell a prey to the keen swords of the Abdali warriors. Kaka[5] Pandit himself met with his death, and the surviving remnant of the force fled away, and betook themselves to a place of security. Haji Nawab then rejoined the army, victorious and successful, bringing the *banjaras* along with him; whereupon grain became plentiful and cheap in the camp markets, and the fears of the soldiery being removed, they engaged in their military duties with zeal and cheerfulness.

The two vast armies, having fixed their standing camps at a distance from each other of twice the range of

[4][*The "Tarikh-i Ibrahim Khan" and the "Nigar-nama-i Hind" call him 'Ata Khan, and that is right according to Grant Duff.*]

[5]["*Gobind Pandit was totally unable to rise, from extreme obesity and old age; but he was forced to mount a horse and fly precipitately.*"—*T. Ibrahim Khan.* "*He fell off his horse, and a Durrani killed him.*"—"*Nigar-nama-i Hind.*"

a cannon-ball, maintained their respective positions; and the skirmishers on either side used daily to engage one another. On one occasion during this interval a thousand horsemen, each one carrying 2,000 rupees with him on his horse, were proceeding from Shah-Jahanabad to their own camp, and as they stood in fear of the Abdali army, they used to march during the night. One of the horsemen belonging to the party, having become oppressed with drowsiness towards morning, missed his road, and moved towards the Abdali camp. Having thus come face to face with the hostile picquets, he got caught in the grasp of calamity, and prepared for the road of ruin. From his own mouth it was discovered that they were conveying treasure to the Mahratta army; so a number of the boldest spirits out of every band set out for the Mahratta camp without any order from Ahmad Sultan, and during that short period of dawn until the rising of the great luminary pillaged three or four hundred of the horsemen. Among the number of those out in quest of booty was 'Aka Sandal Habshi, chief eunuch to Shah Kuli Khan the Wazir, who put one Mahratta horseman to death himself, and carried off his 2,000 rupees. The remnant of the Mahratta party gained their own camp by a precipitate flight, and so escaped from the grasp of death till their predestined day.

In like manner, as often as one or two thousand of the Mahratta horse went out for grass and forage, the Abdali and Hindustani heroes used to pillage them on their way;. till at length affairs reached such a pass that none would stir out fruitlessly from their position, which they had surrounded with a strong intrenchment, except wretched naked labourers who, going by stealth into the open country, used to dig up grass from the ground with their *kharpas*, and offer it for sale. As soon as Ahmad Sultan became cognizant of these matters, he directed Khanjan Khan, the head of the Fufalzai chiefs, who is generally known as Jahan Khan, along with three or four thousand Kazalbashis who were under his command, as

well as Haji Nawab Khan Alkuzai, to mount every day and patrol round the Mahratta camp at a distance of two *kos* from their intrenchments, one from the northern side, and the other from the southern; and whenever any forager with grass should approach the enemy's camp, to put him to death. The chiefs in question accordingly continued for a period of two months to patrol round the intrenched camp, slaying and pillaging every forager they came across, who attempted to convey grain, fodder, or grass to the enemy; afterwards they used to separate from each other on the east and west.

The Mahratta army being reduced to great extremities for want of grass, fodder, and grain, marched out with intent to give battle;[6] and at the time of their moving off from their position, such clouds of dust ascended up to heaven from beneath their horses' hoofs, that the bright day appeared to all eyes darker and gloomier than the murky shades of a pitch-black night; in so much that two persons seated side by side could not distinguish each other. Ahmad Sultan then commissioned Shah Pasand Khan,—who was both a great chieftain and *charkhi-bashi*, as well as commander of the vanguard, and *darogha* of the stable,—the *harkaras* and the *paiks*, to go and procure information as to the state and strength of the Mahratta army. The chief in question, taking the author of this work, and ten other dauntless cavaliers from amongst his relatives and dependents along with him, pursued the road to their camp in the intense obscurity with perfect certainty, as there had been daily skirmishes with them on the plains, and a thorough knowledge of all the paths had been acquired. In the course of four hours we had

[[6]*Ibrahim Khan states that the Bhao offered "to accept any conditions of peace that it might please the Shah to accept," but the offer was rejected. The Bhao was afterwards driven to give battle by the taunts and reproaches of his chiefs. He gives the date 6th Jumada-s sani,* 1174 A.H. (12*th January,* 1761 A.D.]

advanced half a *kos,* when at that moment the noise of artillery wheels struck on the sensitive ears of the author and his comrades, while the tramp of our horses' hoofs also reached the ears of the enemy's gunners. They immediately suspected that a force from the Abdali army was advancing under cover of the dense clouds of dust to make an assault, and fired several rounds, the shot of which passed close by our horsemen. The horsemen in question having thus happily escaped the destructive effects of those cannon-balls, we turned back, and reported the news to Ahmad Sultan, that their army was steadily advancing with the resolute determination of giving battle. The Sultan then set about disposing his troops in order, and marshalling their ranks. . . . Ahmad Sultan took his stand in the centre of the army, and planted 2,000 camel swivels well in advance of his position. In rear of the camel swivels came 20,000 infantry *jazailchis,* backed by the domestics of the royal *darbar.* Behind these again was the band of music, and in rear of that Ahmad Sultan took up his position, supported behind by the Kazalbash cavalry, counting over 10,000 sabres, and lastly by the force composed of Durranis, Ghiljais, etc. In rear of the line on the right-hand side was stationed Haji Jamal Khan Barakzai, who stood alert and ready for action at the distance of half a *kos;* so that whenever the enemy should make a desperate assault upon any one of the divisions that were drawn up in front, he might render it assistance. On the left Shuja'u-d daula and others stood ready to furnish succour, and to do his utmost to repel the enemy, whenever any reverse should happen to one of those divisions in the front line.

Both sides having arrayed their troops in line, stood confronting each other till noon, when . . . . the ranks of the two armies appeared clearly to each other's sight.[7] Then the gallant youths, entering upon the

[7]["*The battle was fought on 6th Jamada-s sani,*

martial strife, commenced the battle and dealt out lusty blows, whilst the expert gunners of European birth kindled the flames of war by discharging their thunder-voiced ordnance, and the rocketmen of magical skill consumed the thread of life of the heroes of the battle-field by darting their falcon-winged missiles. As for a musket bullet, the heroes cared not what it might do, and in that scene of carnage and slaughter the only dread entertained by the renowned and gallant combatants was for a cannon-ball, or the flight of a rocket.

From noon until only three *gharis* of the day remained, the battle continued to rage, the brave warriors being earnestly engaged in wielding sword and spear, and the wounded in yielding up life with groans and agonizing cries. Bhao and Wiswas Rai, in the early part of the engagement, made such incessant assaults, that Ahmad Sultan was under an apprehension that he would not be able to withstand them, and despatched a person to mount the ladies of his household on fleet steeds swift as the wind, and keep them waiting inside his private pavilion; so that, whenever the infidels should gain the superiority, they might be ready to pursue the path of flight, and betake themselves to the verge of safety and the nook of security. That day, however, Mahmud Khan Gurd Bulbas, who was chief eunuch, *Kulalarakashi,* and commander of eight or nine thousand dauntless and bloodthirsty Kazalbash horse, was posted in rear of Ahmad Sultan. He having planted his foot firmly on the plain of contention, caused great slaughter with his keen-edged sword. . . . Through the reiterated charges of the Khan and his adherents, the pagan Mahrattas were unable to push on a step in advance of the position they had first assumed; and at this juncture an order was given to the *zamburakchis* and *jazailchis,* not to be slack in keeping up their fire, but to consume

1174 A.H., *or* 8*th Pus-badi,* 1817 *Samvat*" (12*th January,* 1761 A.D.).—*Akhbaru-l Muhabbat.*]

the harvest of the enemy's lives with the flame of their bullets. . . . At length, by Ahmad Sultan's good fortune, one *zamburak* ball struck Wiswas Rai on the forehead, and another hit Bhao on the side. From these bullet wounds both of them quickly pursued the road to the realms of perdition, and betook themselves to the lowermost pits of hell; while the rest subsided into the sleep of annihilation through the sword cuts inflicted by the Kazalbash youth.

In a word, as soon as the Mahratta army perceived its chieftains travelling the desert of perdition, turning its face from the field of battle, it pursued the path of flight; and in an instant the scene of strife and bloodshed became cleared and purified, like the surface of a mirror, from the foulness of the vile infidels' presence. Couriers then conveyed the information to Shah Pasand Khan that the worthless pagan Mahrattas had fled, and not one of them was left remaining on the field. Jhanku and Malhar, who were two mighty chiefs, having planted firmly the foot of stability, kept fighting at the head of a *lac* of horsemen in front of Shah Pasand Khan; so the latter, being re-animated with the news of the infidels' retreat, charged the chiefs opposed to him, and was occupied for two *gharis* in dealing forth blows and taunts on them. Eventually they came to the determination of fleeing, and taking the route to the Dakhin, they departed from the field of battle. The Irani and Durrani warriors, who were with Shah Pasand Khan, pursued them; excepting the author of this work, who remained standing close by him. At last Shah Pasand Khan remarked that he was going to offer his congratulations to Ahmad Sultan, and told me to go and carry off some booty for myself.

When the author had thus received permission, he put his horse to the gallop in company with a cousin of his own, and one attendant; and on reaching their camp, found about 30,000 infantry matchlockmen, or even more, going along with matchlocks at their backs,

and naked swords in their hands. We three individuals passed through the midst of them, however, and after seizing two strings (*katar*) of laden camels, by which is meant fourteen of these beasts of burden, we returned again through the midst of that multitude numbering upwards of 30,000 souls, and so greatly were they inspired with terror and consternation, that they had not the power to use their weapons. Stranger still, whilst returning to our own camp, a Mahratta chief, who had been stationed in the hindmost ranks of their army, and was fleeing towards the Dakhin with six or seven thousand horse, happened to meet us three individuals. With a view to save ourselves from harm, we fired off our three matchlocks; whereupon that force turned away from us, and proceeded in a different direction. The author, together with his two companions, took from them a couple more camels, one of which carried a kettle-drum, and the other forage; and we re-entered our camp in safety and security just as five *gharis* of the night were past, at which time the glad sounds of the kettle-drums were reverberating through the ethereal sky from the army of Ahmad Sultan and the chieftains of Hindustan.

In this battle, out of the Mahratta leaders, Shamsher Bahadur, who was the Peshwa's son, and Ibrahim Khan Gardi,[8] who had 30,000 Tilanga Gardis under his command, together with he Governor of the province of Gujarat Ahmadabad, met their deaths. Out of that vast army too, consisting of three *lacs* and fifty thousand cavalry and infantry, only 50,000 souls succeeded in

[8]*Ibrahim Khan Gardi "in times of yore ran with a stick in his hand before the palankin of M. de Bussy," at Pondicherry. He rose to a command in the French service. Subsequently he entered the service of the Nizam, and was afterwards entertained by the Bhao. His men were trained in the European fashion, and like all men so drilled, were called Tilangas, or Gardis. They obtained the former name from having first been*

returning to the Dakhin, after undergoing a thousand hardships and difficulties; while the remainder pursued the path of perdition, either in the field or on the road, through the swords of the holy warriors.

All that the author witnessed with his own eyes, as well as what he learnt from the couriers under his authority and other comrades, every one of whom was on the spot, he has inserted in these pages; and it is his opinion, that there is none who can possibly be better acquainted with this engagement than his humble self; because the *harkaras* (couriers) were under his master's orders, and he was his master's factotum, everything that occurred being reported to the chief through him. Whenever any one else, therefore, out of self-conceit, tells a different tale to this, it is a tissue of lies and falsehoods, and his statement is uuworthy of credit.

The ever-victorious Kazalbash and Durrani warriors pursued the fugitives as far as the villages of Balamgarh and Faridabad, which are twelve *kos* from the metropolis of Shah-Jahanabad, in the direction of Akbarabad, and from Panipat to that spot must be sixty *kos*. Wherever they found the vile Hindu Mahrattas, they carried off their horses and equipments, and put the individuals themselves to death.

Some of the soldiers, who were rather merciful and compassionate, wounded a party of Mahrattas and then let them go, as in the following instance. The author of this work, together with Muhammad Beg Khan Hamadani Irani, who held the title of Iftikharu-d daula Firoz Jang from the Emperor of Hindustan, had about 20,000 horse and foot under his command, and was

raised at Pondicherry. The term "Gardi" is said by the French translator of the Siyaru-l Mutu-akhkhirin to be derived from the Arabic Gharbi 'Western'; but the word "guard," in its French, English or Portuguese form, seems to be a more likely source.—Seir Mutaqherin, vol. iii. p. 152. *Grant Duff, vol. ii. pp.* 112, 121.

greatly honoured and esteemed by the late Nawab Najaf Khan, was for some time in the camp of Mahaji Patel Sindhia, the Mahratta; and Sindhia was so excessively lame, that two persons used to hold him under both arms to raise him from his seat. Some one inquired of Sindhia the reason of his being lame, whereupon the latter, heaving a deep sigh, replied: "When fate is unpropitious, the wisest plans are unsuccessful. I had purchased a Bhunrathali[9] mare for the sum of 12,000 rupees, which outstripped the cold winter's blast in speed, and I was mounted on her back. At the time when Bhao and Wiswar Rai met with their deaths, I got seperated to a distance from Jhanku, the chief of my adherents, and was ffeeing away alone; when a young Mughal riding a Turki charger set out in pursuit of me. However much I pressed my steed, whenever I looked behind, there I saw his horse shaking his ears, and coming straight on; till at last, the mare being incapable of further exertion, he overtook me. He then took away my steed and accoutrements, and gave me a wound in the leg, saying: 'This shall give you a mark to remember for years to come.' From that day to the present I have continued suffering from this painful wound, insomuch that I remember it well."

Another extraordinary incident was this. During the flight of the Mahratta forces, a party of them had stopped at the caravanserai of Sonpat, for the purpose of eating bread and drinking water; when the Kazalbash and Abdali warriors came up in pursuit, and through fear of them, the guardians of the serai closed its gates. As soon as the Mahrattas got intelligence of their arrival, every one mounted his horse, wishing to escape, but found the gate shut. One of them spurred on his mare, which he conceived to be a good galloper, that he might clear the wall of the serai at a leap. The gallant animal, flying off the ground like a falcon, stuck

[9] *From the valley of the Bhunra or Bhima.*

amongst the battlements of the wall, and there expired. Thirty years ago the author of this work, happening to alight at that serai, beheld the horse's skeleton fixed in the battlements. This noble feat is famous throughout the world.

These singular events took place in the year 1174 A.H. (1760-1 A.D.). One of the poets of Hindustan, with a view to ingratiate himself with the Nawab Waziru-l mamalik Shuja'u-d daula Bahadur, composed the following chronogram of the victory:

"Wisdom grew delighted and exclaimed, Come!
May the triumph of our Nawab be propitious."

This humble individual, too, has written down all these particulars exactly as they happened, in order that they may be made apparent to His Highness's understanding.

JAM-I JAHAN-NUMA
OF
MUZAFFAR HUSAIN

THE writer of the *Jam-i Jahan-numa* was Muzaffar Husain, surnamed Maharat Khan, son of Hakim Ghulam Muhammad Khan, son of Hakim Muhammad Kasim, son of Hakim Muhammad Salih, son of Maulana 'Abdu-s Salim, son of Maulana 'Abdu-l Mumin, son of Maulana Shaikh Muhammad, son of Maulana Shaikh 'Ali, son of Maulana Muhammad Aslam.

The reputation which some of these ancestors acquired for science and learning is dwelt upon by the author at the close of his account of the Poets. He traces his descent to Khwaja Kohi, who left Baghdad to reside at Hirat.

Khwaja Kohi Astajlu is represented as a great saint, who flourished in the time of Sultan Husain Gurgani. Mirza Haidar says in the *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, in the chapter in which he gives an account of the saints and doctors, that one day as his father went to the *Jama'masjid* in

Hirat, he saw there Khwaja Kohi, who, having read his prayers, was sitting with his face towards the *kibla* engaged in his meditations. He asked the people who this man was, and on being told of his name, he stood aside; and when the Khwaja arose, with the intention of departing, he advanced and met him with every mark of respect. The Khwaja compiled a work on Moral Philosophy and the science of Mental Purification, which is entitled *Siyaru-l Arwah*.

Maulana Muhammad Aslam, grandson of Khwaja Kohi, was born in Hirat. When 'Abdu-llah Khan Uzbek, the ruler of Mawarau-n Nahr, laid siege to Hirat, and invested it for nine months, his father and relations, amongst many others, died, either from some pestilential disease which had broken out in the city, or from famine. Muhammad Aslam, who survived, was then only foruteen years old, and, after the conquest of Hirat, was taken away by certain nobles of Bukhara, Mir Sadru-d din Muhammad and Mulla Talib Hirvi, to whom he was related. He was brought up under their care, and passed his hours in the acquisition of knowledge. Afterwards, in the beginning of the reign of the Emperor Jahangir, he came to Lahore, and became a pupil of Shaikh Bahlol. He also went to Agra, and had an interview with the Emperor. As he was the nephew of Maulana Mir Kalan Muhaddis, he was very kindly received by the Emperor, and obtained the rank of fifteen hundred. He resigned the royal service in A.H. 1060, and returned to Lahore, where he died the year afterwards.

Maulana Mir Kalan Muhaddis, son of Khwaja Kohi, came from Hirat to Hindustan with his grandfather in the reign of the Emperor Akbar. Jahangir was a pupil of his. Mir Kalan died at Agra.

Maulana Shaikh 'Ali, Maulana Shaikh Muhammad and Maulana 'Abdu-l Mumin. were also held in good repute.

Maulana 'Adbu-s Salim was a very learned man.

He had been educated by Shaikh Is'hak, Shaikh Sa'du-llah, Kazi Sadru-d din, and Shaikh Fathu-llah Shirazi. He wrote a commentary of Baizawi. He died in the first year of Shah Jahan's reign. Mirak Shaikh Hirvi of Khurasan, who was the tutor of Prince Dara Shukoh, and held the office of *Sadr*, read several standard works with Maulana 'Abdu-s Salim.

Maulana Muhammad Salih acquired great proficiency in medicine, and was a scholar of Hakimu-l Mulk Takri Khan. Hakim Taki of Lahore, who is said to have possessed great skill in the profession, and was a most successful parctitioner, was one of his pupils.

Muhammad Kasim, *alias* Hakim Kasim, dilligently applied himself to the study of Theology, the several branches of Natural Philosophy, Mathematics, Divinity and Physics. He also spent his time in getting the Kuran by heart. For some time he was a servant of Amir Khan, the Governor of Kabul, after whose death he led a solitary life, and died at Lahore in the beginning of Farrukh Siyar's reign.

Hakim Ghulam Muhammad Khan, after having acquired a proficiency in the different branches of learning, took up his residence in early youth, towards the end of the Emperor Aurangzeb's reign, in the city of Aurangabad. He had acquired perfection in Caligraphy, and specimens of his writing were long admired. He entered the service of the Emperor Farrukh Siyar at the commencement of his reign, through the recommendation of I'timad Khan, whom he had taught to write *Naskh*. He obtained the rank of five hundred personal allowance, with some *jagirs* in the *mahal* of Sakrawa, in the district of Kanauj, and the *parganas* of A'zam and Al in the Panjab. When the revolution caused by the Saiyids embarrassed the affairs of the Empire, and the *jagirs* were consfiscated or exchanged, he retired from public life, and passed the remainder of his days in devotion. He died in A.H. 1178 (1764 A.D.).

Muzaffar Husain, surnamed Yusufi, *alias* Maharat

Khan, the author of the work now under consideration, was born in the city of Aurangabad, in A.H. 1118 (1706 A.D.). He was only seven years old when he finished the Kuran, which he read with his father. He then commenced his Persian studies under the tuition of Shah 'Abdu-l Hakim, who was one of his father's intimate friends. He learnt to write the *Khat-i Naskh,* and studied some of the works which were compiled by his grandfather. He went through all the standard works on Arabic Grammar, Logic, and Rotetoric, with Maulana Mirza Nazar 'Ali, brother of Hakim Zainu-d din. At the age of fifteen, at his father's suggestion, he commenced the study of Physics, under the instruction of Hakim Muhammad Husain, surnamed Bukrat Khan, son of Hakim Ma'sum Khan. For six years he practised Medicine under his tutor, and when the Emperor, Muhammad Shah, left the city of Dehli to go on a hunting excursion to the village of Sioli, his tutor, who was the Emperor's physician, who was then only twenty-one years of age, was left to take care of his patients.

He informs us that as he had taken great pains to make himself master of his profession, he was able to cure many of them, and they expressed their thanks to him in the presence of his tutor. During the time he was learning Physics, he also studied books on Natural Philosophy, Divinity, Mathematics, Astronomy, Music, Astrology, as well as other sciences, under the instruction of Maulana Ghariutu-llah. He was not, however, contented with these studies; he extended them also to the translated works of the ancients, such as Galen and Hippocrates. He also turned his attention to composition, and wrote the *Usulu-t Tibb, Siraju-l Hajj,* and other treatises. During the time he was thus occupied, he also collected, for the sake of amusement, some very interesting stories relative to the great men of past ages, and also the most select passages of ancient and modern poets. He was urged by his friends to put all the matter he had thus amassed into a regular form, and

connect it in such a manner as to make it fit for publication. Although, in consequence of being one of the physicians of His Majesty, he had very little liesure from his ordinary duties, yet, for the sake of his friends, he consented to devote the best part of his time to prepairing the work, and completed it in 1180 (A.D. 1766-7).

The *Jam-i Jahan-numa* is of an exceedingly miscellaneous character, and deals but little in History. The authorities are not mentioned, but a great part appears to be derived from the *Madinatu-l' Ulum* and the *Nafaisu-l Funun*. The information it contains is useful, and the ancedotes interspered are entertaining and instructive.

The work is divided into five Books.

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The only copy which I know of this work is in the possession of the Raja of Benares, very well transcribed in the year 1243 A.H. (1827 A.D.), for Dip Narain Singh, the younger brother of Raja Udit Narain Singh.

SIZE—8 vo., 1332 pages, containing 15 lines in each page.

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